

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION, WORKERS
AND THEIR CLASS STRUCTURATION: A
SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL
WORKERS OF UTTAR PRADESH
(Empirical Examination of Weber's Life-Chances)

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by

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INDIAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY KANPUR

January, 1998

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It is certified that the work contained in this thesis entitled "Industrial Organization, Workers and their Class Structuration: A Sociological Study of Industrial Workers of Uttar Pradesh" (Empirical Examination of Weber's Life-Chances) by Anurag Dwivedi has been carried out under my supervision and that this work has not been submitted elsewhere for a degree.

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Synopsis

This study has been undertaken to find out the empirical viability of Weber's concept of life-chances for explaining the process of class-structuration among the industrial workers of India. India is marked by caste as the primary basis of stratification. After the attainment of Independence, in 1947, the industrial proliferation paved way to new kinds of relationships. The centuries old caste system which was characterized by its rigidity, ascription and endogamy gradually weakened its hold in the industrial set up. A new system of stratification which was marked by flexibility, openness and achievement orientation emerged. This was known as the class system. The Indian society underwent a transition i.e. from the caste domination to the class emergence. This unique combination of caste and class brought into new kinds of groupings which were not in accordance with the established trends. As a result, the Indian society has witnessed the emergence of a social structure having dual characteristics. At one hand, people experience large scale mobility because of the prevalence of class as a new stratification order. On the other hand, caste system restricts the mobility because of its rigidity, and hereditary characteristics. Consequently, a peculiar and unique structural arrangement has emerged in the urban-industrial social groups of India. The aim of this study is to examine this transition and the differential characteristics of the industrial workers.

The theoretical framework of the study is linked with the theory of classes in a work-organization within a frame reference of class mobility. Weberian model of work ethic has drawn attention on the aspect of workers behaviour and their work setting. Max Weber defined classes according to the economic differences of market situation.

which gave rise to different life-chances. According to Weber, the concept of life-chances is related with two major aspects of industrial workers. They are the market situation and the work situation. The market situation has been defined as the material rewards related with job-benefits and opportunity such as the pay, job-benefits, opportunity for promotion, social affiliation, and the family background. The work situation refers to the work tasks, work environment and structure of social relations, control or authority systems existing in the work organizations. To examine the market situation, the working conditions of the respondents have been analyzed. To examine the work situation the model of Burns and Stalker was used to have a penetrating view. British scholars, Tom Burns and G M Stalker studied some industrial organizations and concluded that the organization which had flexible and open system of management facilitated large scale satisfaction, commitment and stability among its workers. While the industrial work organization which had rigid and close system of functioning was not able to generate stability, satisfaction and commitment among their workers. This led to their thesis of strategic management assessing the differential work-environment of organizations and suggesting flexible strategies for managers. They concluded that the organization which has flexible and open approach to manage their workers was able to command greater commitment and stability from the workers than the organization which had rigid and close system of management. Based on this, Burns and Stalker gave new name to bring a differentiation between both types of work-organization. The flexible system of work organization was called as Organic type of organization while the rigid ones got a name of Mechanistic type of organization. Taking a cue from their findings, we examined the differential work culture on the aspect of mobility among the industrial workers working into these types of organizations.

The dissertation pays its attention on the trends of upward mobility (Structuration) to form a new class order in the contemporary Indian society. The objective of the study is to find out the empirical viability of Weber's concept of life-chances for explaining the process of class-structuration among the industrial workers of India. However, in addition to the overall objective, the following objectives are also kept in mind

- 1 to examine the differential characteristics of the industrial workers employed in the mechanistic and organic types of organizations
- 2 to assess the importance of market situation among the industrial workers,
- 3 to understand the extent of influence of work-situation on the aspect of class mobility taking place among the industrial workers,
- 4 to study and identify the factors responsible for the process of class structuration taking place among the industrial workers of Uttar Pradesh.

In order to attain those objectives, some hypotheses are developed for empirical verification. The hypotheses are

- 1 Higher is the level of education, greater is the preference for industrial occupations.
- 2 Greater is the job commitment, less is the preference for routinized work condition
- 3 Difference of assessment between workers perceived status and their SES
- 4 Better is the future planning for children, greater is the possibility of moving farther from the working class
- 5 Progressively higher is the occupational aspiration, better is the SES
- 6 Lacking in the collective orientation, greater is the possibility of moving into middle class categories
- 7 Better is the future planning, greater is the possibility of moving farther from working class
- 8 Life-chances have inverse relationship with the type of work organization.

In order to accomplish the objectives of the study, a field study was conducted from August 1995 to December 1996 in three phases at Kanpur and Allahabad. Kanpur is

a major industrial city having a long history of industrial production. Allahabad is an important city having a sizeable number of industrial workers. For primary data collection, a semi structured schedule was canvassed on three hundred respondents by adopting simple random sampling method. The selected respondents were divided into two categories of manual and non manual workers. To supplement the data base, observation and unstructured interviews were used to collect additional and indepth information. The information gathered through unstructured interviews after analysis has been presented in the form of cases. Data analysis has been done using the SPSSX package. Chi-square has been calculated to empirically verify the set of hypotheses from the field observation.

The dissertation is divided into eight chapters. First chapter deals with the Introduction and literature survey. It was followed by the identification of the gaps in literature which paved way for the formulation of the theoretical framework. The chapter also spells the objectives and the hypotheses alongwith the operational definition of the keyconcepts.

The research design of the study includes the selection of samples, techniques of data collection, development of scales for measuring various qualitative attributes like socio-economic status, aspiration, commitment, life-chances etc. details of which are presented in chapter II. In this chapter, the tools and techniques of data collection have been elucidated and the procedure adopted for analyzing the data have been detailed out. The industrial work organizations i.e. factories of the study have been divided into two major categories, they are Mechanistic and Organic organizations. Profile of Mechanistic type of Organizations alongwith respondents socio demographic profile is presented in the third chapter. This chapter includes brief characteristic features of the organization, geographical location, manpower strength of the organization etc. The Profile of the Organic type of organization alongwith the socio- demographic profile of the respondents has been elucidated in the fourth chapter. In this chapter the education, income, age and certain other attributes of the respondents have been elucidated which had important bearing on the topic of investigation.

Fifth chapter aims at explaining the level of job satisfaction and commitment among the industrial workers of the study. The recruitment patterns of the respondents in the different organizations, their working conditions and their attitudes to jobs have also been discussed in the same chapter.

The sixth chapter presents the differential trends of mobility visible among the respondents of the Mechanistic and Organic type of organizations. Occupational aspirations of the respondents and their dependents is also discussed in the same chapter. The typical characteristics of the classes have also been discussed.

Seventh chapter deals with the life-chances and the process of class-structuration taking place among the industrial workers of contemporary Indian society. Using the typical class characteristics, it has been concluded that there is structuration taking place in the contemporary Indian society.

Finally, the eighth chapter contains the verification of hypotheses, summary of major findings, policy implications and the scope for further studies. The major findings of the study are that mechanistic and organic organizations have clearly defined work situation which are strikingly different from one another. The workers of the mechanistic organization were more satisfied in comparison to the workers of the organic organizations. But the level of commitment was higher in the organic organizations in comparison to the mechanistic organizations. Significantly there has been striking difference among the respondents' market situation i.e. wage, benefits, working conditions etc. in the mechanistic and organic type of organization which in turn affected the life-chances of the respondents.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The title of the study emphasizes on three key words namely Industrial organization, Workers and Class-Structuration. These concepts are interlinked with the process of industrial system. Therefore, let us first deliberate on 'Industrial Organization' and then on 'Workers' and 'Class-Structuration'.

After advent of the 'Industrial Revolution', social scientists have increasingly shown their concern for organizations. Organizations in current sociological parlance have been defined as institutionalized strategies for the achievement of more or less specific objectives through an orderly arrangement of many individuals (Hollander and Hunt, 1976 modified from Blau, 1955). The above definition suggests that to accomplish a task, the organizations must have following features:

1. plurality of members and parts,
2. adjustment and co-ordination among them,
3. ordered arrangement i.e. some kind of stratification
4. some specific goals and objectives to achieve

The aforesaid definition also conceives an 'industrial organizations' as a deliberate action through which men and resources are mobilized and adjusted to produce economic goods and services. In other words, industrial organizations can be termed as 'economic organizations' in which mobilization of men for producing desired goods and services are important. Thus, an organization is construed as a social system, consisting of various kinds of relationships, with its own characteristics and requirements. In social sciences, many studies have been conducted on work institutions, quasi-organizations and administrative organizations, etc. Each study has proved to be a springboard for further investigation and has helped in developing the field known as the 'sociology of organizations' which has taken a concrete and well defined shape. These studies have identified five distinctive features of an industrial organization:

- 1 a network of statuses operating within a whole and being circumscribed by the same which are filled by an ongoing stream of replaceable individuals
- 2 an attitude of responsible role-commitment on the part of the individuals who constitute these statuses,
- 3 attainment of specific goals and objectives for which all the members of the industrial organization strive,
- 4 a structure in the form of a co-ordinated and stable units to promote a system of relations between the statuses and,
- 5 one or more centres of power for controlling organization's activities and guiding it towards the realization of the identified goals

One trend in study of industrial organization is derived from the work of Mayo (1949) and the Human Relations School which gave rise to a separate branch of knowledge known as 'Sociology of Human Resources Management'. According to Mayo, the most effective form of an industrial organization is the one which can give utmost satisfaction to its members, by making them happy and catering to their needs by providing

opportunities for participation in decision making Drucker (1955), the father of management, has also recognized the significance of management of people as a resource. The fundamental functions of management like planning, organizing, decision making, controlling and co-ordinating all constituents are performed by the people and for the people involved in it. This realization has brought the two disciplines viz, 'Sociology of Organization' and 'Sociology of Human Resources Management' together on one platform. Thus, the management of human resources involves understanding and management of several important and complex issues, such as employees' perceptions of the organizational climate, family background, objective conditions of life (realities), leadership style, and intergroup relationship etc. This new knowledge has highlighted the concept of motivating people in industrial organizations to become 'high/ace achiever and high/ace performer'. This has become an important management strategy. Why do people become high achiever in one organization, while they are not like this in different organization, becomes an intriguing question. It still remains unanswered. Therefore, the major endeavour of the present study is to find out and identify the actual causes which make a high achiever and upwardly mobile group of Industrial Workers in India. Maclelland (1961) in his theory of achievement motivation proposes that it is linked with personality type of the workers. While some other studies have tried to link it with their family background. Without being uncharitable to their findings, one can suggest that it can also be linked with the type of work organizations where workers are placed in. The overall objective of the present study is to identify which fact is more appropriately applicable for the contemporary industrial workers of India.

During the last fifty years, India has taken to diversified industrialization in a big way. It is therefore, pertinent to deliberate on issues like increasing social mobility found among the industrial workers of India, liberalization of ideas by means of secular, scientific and technical education and large scale change in status, from the ascribed to achieved status etc. In consonance with these changes, the existing divisions of Indian society are getting transformed. The caste and the class boundaries are getting blurred due to the new ideas and values like equality, individuality, independence and

autonomy. Therefore, there is an urgent need to look into such issues in greater depth

The present study proposes to make use of the knowledge of sociology of Human Resources Management to deal with the aforesaid issues in order to explain the contemporary social phenomenon of formation of new social classes and orders in Indian industrial scenario. One school theorizes that the novel classes and orders are developing due to the trends of upward mobility. Lower caste/class people try to emulate the values, beliefs, practices, and consumption patterns of high caste/class and thereby try to integrate themselves into the higher order of caste/class (Srinivas 1952, Beteille 1972). The other school talks about a downward trend of social mobility whereby, the high class or caste emulates the practices of the lower class or caste because of some specific advantages (ShyamLal 1992, 1995). However, both the schools agree on the factor of social mobility and resultant upheaval in the social order in India. It would be interesting to find out the actual reasons for social mobility among the Industrial workers of India which is also one of the main objectives of the present study.

1.1.1 The History of Industrial Organization in India

India had the early experience of trade and commerce much before the advent of the Europeans (Mishra 1983). To facilitate our presentation, the history of industrial organization in India has been divided into three periods namely.

- Pre British period (upto 17th century)
- Post British Period (18th to 20th century)
- Post independence period (1947 and beyond)

1.1.1.1 Pre-British Period

In the ancient Indian society, the guild system called 'Sreni' prevailed. It was a form of industrial and mercantile organization. Vedic literature also makes a faint reference

of sreni organization. By the time of Buddhist scriptures, srenis certainly existed in every important industrial class and town (Basham 1995). Now here a very pertinent question can be raised about the nature of sreni system in India. The sreni was headed by a chief usually called the elder (Pramukha or Jyestha). He was assisted by senior members. The office was hereditary and its members were one of the richest members of the sreni. The Indian Sreni system had a corporate life and had its own militia which served as auxiliaries of the royal armies in times of need.

The sreni system united both the craftsmen co-operatives and the individual workmen of a given trade into a single corporate body. It fixed rules for works and wages, standards and prices for the commodities in which its members dealt. The regulations of the sreni system in India had the force of law and were upheld by the king and his government. The srenis had judicial rights over its own members which were recognized by the state. Apart from the economic power of the srenis they also had regulatory powers over the social life of its members. There are references in the Buddhist literature that no women could become a nun without her husbands and srenis consent. Srenis also acted as guardians of widows, orphans and acted as insurance against sickness for its members. The srenis also acted as bankers, accepting deposits and lending money at interest. The corporate life of the sreni gave the better type of craftsmen and merchant a degree of self respect which they could not have found otherwise (Basham 1995).

1.1.1.2 Post British Period

The Sreni system existed in the ancient period. The process of industrial organization in India had started in pre-independence era with the consolidation of British power in the country. Britishers recruited large number of cheap labour and raw materials. In 1854, factory production had begun with the establishment of cotton mills and setting up of railway lines for transporting the goods from one place to another. Almost around the same time a jute factory was established in Calcutta with mostly foreign capital and enterprise. Coal mining also began about this time. All these efforts

were initiated by the British because they realized that development of railways, road and communication system are an essential infrastructure for economic growth. As a result, several industries were set up in the areas of textile, jute, mining etc. These industries were owned by mercantile and entrepreneur communities. In this period, India witnessed the emergence of a new system of production which had revolutionized the industrial scene. This system of production was called as the factory system. It would not be out of place, to present a brief outline of the social impact of the factory system in India.

In the factory system, new machines and steam power came to be used increasingly. Production was carried out in factory premises with the help of machines. Many new cities emerged which attracted people for employment. Artisans, craftsmen and dispossessed peasants were in search of jobs. Capitalists owned and managed the facilities for production and had all the profits. Everything required for production was provided by the owner. The owner of the factory owned everything including the finished goods. The workers were paid wages in lieu of their labour. The factory system increased the rate and levels of production and decreased the cost of the product. As a result, common people could buy the products which earlier, only the affluent could have afforded. The social relationship under the factory system became exploitative in nature. The owners paid less wages to the worker for long hours of labour and work and did not pay attention to the working conditions of the labourers. As a result, workers worked in insalubrious conditions, unhealthy and unhygienic surroundings. Once workers were employed in the factory system, they lost their economic independence. The emergence of factory system can be credited to satisfy the increasing demand for goods which owing to the rise in the level of production and increase in population had consistently grown. The factory system had the following characteristics:

- Concentration of the productive forces in large factories or places near the source of the motive power, raw materials or markets. This meant accumulation of fixed capital and free labour to work it.
- Application of mechanical power which replaced manual processes by animal

power or human power

- Concentration of wealth in the hands of a select few.

Factory system could not have been possible, inter-alia, without the accumulation of wealth in the form of capital in the hands of the entrepreneur. With the entrepreneur's initiative the four M's—men, money, machines and material—were combined in the most productive way. The factory system brought about a market mechanism, diversified consumer market, a labour market and a money market. This brought about certain changes in the attitude of the individuals. Foremost was the feeling of individualism which was not found in the previous epochs of guild and the feudal system. The emergence of a new division of society into the capitalists, labourers or proletariat was the chief consequence of the factory system. They displaced the old division between the lords and serfs of the feudal period. With increasing urbanization and expanded transportation, the standard of life rose, arts and sciences advanced. Education became pervasive and democratic tendencies spread as the consequences of the industrial system or the capitalist production.

1.1.1.3 Post Independence Period

After independence, the five year plans focussed more attention and made deliberate attempt to accelerate the process of industrialization, which gave impetus and boost the industrial development. These plans made provisions for large investments in building up a wide spectrum of industries. In the first two plans, steel, cement and paper industries were started. Third and Fourth plans emphasized on the aluminium, automobile, tyres, petroleum refinery, tractors and heavy equipments. Fifth Plan laid emphasis on rapid growth of core sector industries and consumption. The sixth plan envisaged optimum utilization of existing capacities, quantitative increase in output of consumer, and capital goods and improvement in production. Seventh plan laid emphasis on the modernization whereas Eighth plan emphasized on the human resources development. These conscious and targeted plans brought about considerable

change in the society First and foremost, they brought a shift from agriculture to non agriculture pursuits which indirectly resulted in promoting large scale migration of population from rural areas to urban areas Secondly, they brought a shift from industry to services Services here means specialized services provided by the professionals of different backgrounds like medical nursing homes, chartered accountants, interior decorators, fashion designers and many more The five year plans brought a change in the scale of productive units and a related shift from personal enterprise to impersonal organization of conglomerate corporations, with a corresponding change in the occupational status of labour Interaction among various economic variables became more widened and induced changes in the savings pattern, investment, consumption, productivity and entrepreneurship of the individuals

Thus, with the planned, systematic development and focused attention, the Indian society reorganized its people and resources to have the optimum advantage The changes brought about with the help of plans can be presented in the following points

- With the support of technology there has been a change from simple and conventional techniques to the modern techniques of production i.e. from labour intensive farm production to machine dominated factory production;
- In agriculture, a change from subsistence farming to surplus farming is noticeable,
- In industry, there has been wide use of the human, animal and machine power, and,
- Finally, rapid movement from rural to urban areas led to new kinds of social formations and structural arrangements in the society

Having deliberated on industrial organization and its consequent process in India, now let us pay some attention on the industrial workers and class-structuration It would be interesting to take up industrial workers first and then have some discussion on the aspect of the process of class-structuration

1.2 Industrial Workers

The word industrial worker is related with the term 'Industry' which is derived from a Latin word 'Industria' meaning skill and resourcefulness. Right from the primitive age, man in certain ways has been industrious. 'Industrious' here means that man used skills and efforts to fulfill his needs with the help of tools. However, in the modern usage, this term denotes sophisticated mechanical system of producing goods and services along with individual resourcefulness and accomplishments.

'Industrial man was different from all his forerunners. He was the master of energy slaves that amplified his puny power enormously. He spent much of his life in a factory style environment, in touch with machines and organizations that dwarfed the individual. He typically grew up in a nuclear family and went to a factory style school. He got his basic image of the world from the mass media. He worked for a large corporation or public agency, belonged to unions, churches and other organizations - to each of which he parcelled out a piece of his divided self. He identified less and less with his village or city than with his nation' (Toffler 1981: 129).

A series of technological changes which took place in Europe during the Industrial Revolution is supposedly the major factor for the emergence of industrial worker. The social implications of industrial revolution upon the industrial workers have been adequately dealt by eminent thinkers like Marx, Weber, Smelser, and Goldthorpe etc. Industrial classes were first classified into two simple categories of proletariat and the bourgeoisie (Marx 1969). Max Weber defined classes in relation to the market situation of the individual. However, in the last five decades, experiences have shown that the blanket bi-polar categories are giving way to multi-polar and multi-divisional categories. The middle class which was assumed to be wiped out has been showing tremendous increase both in form and volume. This increase of middle class has become so rampant during the last 30 - 40 years that many nations have become the countries consisting of middle classes only. These findings have led to the assumption, that middle class will not only stay in the modern industrial world, but are going to

take over the other class categories. If so, then it would be interesting to find out which are the group of persons willing to move to middle class. Secondly, if middle class becomes strong in the industrial system, what will be the complexion of class boundaries? Will they get affected?

1.2.1 Industrial Workers Class- Structuration

In sociological literature, structure is used to denote any institutionalized social arrangement which comes into prominence. The other connotation attached to the word portrays an arrangement of various elements into a definite pattern so as to make a meaningful whole like an educational or occupational structure. Structure also refers to rules and resources involved in the reproduction of the social system (Giddens 1979). It means the co-existence of various processes existing within a boundary, at a given point of time in a given society. If one is concerned about the aspect of mobility for bringing a change in group composition, he can talk about the existence of upward as well as downward mobility. It is well known that the notion of 'class' came into existence since the 19th century. According to Marx, class was a 'group in common relationship to the means of production with a developed and active consciousness of that relationship' (Marx 1969). Thus, class as a group became a grouping in a similar relationship to the means of production regardless of the degree of social consciousness or political cohesion it had attained. Occupation or occupational grouping has been a common indicator of position with respect to the means of production (Birnbaum 1969).

Scholars have interpreted class differently to suit their requirements. Social classes are de facto groups which are relatively open and are not religiously or legally defined and sanctioned. Openness here means that enough room is left for mobility amongst them. Though the basis of class is indisputably economic, they are more than economic groups (Bottomore 1966). Most sociologists commonly agree in recognizing the existence of three distinct classes in the contemporary society viz. upper class comprising owners of economic resources of a society, middle class comprising the white collar

workers and the working class comprising workers and industrial wage earners (Bottomore 1975) Disagreement exists among scholars on the issue of cohesiveness among different classes and their role in society This has led to an ongoing debate among the sociologists especially in India where class and caste both are used for categorizing the social divisions (Chibber 1968)

1.2.2 Emerging Trends of Industrial Classes in India

During the process of industrialization, in India, a massive organized sector employing a large work force has come to occupy an important and visible part of the country's economic life Factory system paved the way for a new set of relationships in a totally different work context As organizations proliferated people, who developed and contributed to the viability of the organizations created a new work environment Besides, the pressures created by the emergence of new enterprises, socio-economic issues also started exerting pressure The ramification of the process has been the emergence of new category of workers Transfer of advanced technology in several sectors of industries drastically affected the structure of the working class which got expanded both in volume and quality A fundamental difference in nature and background of the industrial workers of India vis a vis industrialized western society became evident The differences may be described in the following dimensions First India predominated by a rural population is primarily engaged in agriculture and traditional crafts Second, there has been a segmental growth of industrial centres in India Third, workers have migrated to the city due to push factors (Buchanan 1935) Fourth, the Indian workers are attributed to possess traditional attitudes and outlook rather than the achievement oriented behaviour (Broughton 1954) And fifth, Indian workers are divided along linguistic, caste, and regional backgrounds These characteristics have hindered the growth of a homogeneous working class in India

1.3 Class Structuration

With the proliferation of industrial processes and industrial organizations, Indian society which was for centuries known for its rigid caste structure, underwent a peculiar transition due to the industrial processes. The outcome has been the emergence of a social system which brought two kinds of stratification system, i.e. caste and class together into one system. This unique combination of caste and class, gave birth to new kinds of relationships which were not in accordance with the established trends. As a result, the emergence of a social structure encompassing dual characteristics becomes evident. At one hand, people experience upward mobility because of the prevalence of achievement criteria i.e. class as a new stratification order. On the other hand, caste system restricts the mobility because of its nature of rigidity and hereditary characteristics. Consequently, a peculiar and unique structural arrangement is comes to fore especially in the urban-industrial social groups of India (Chibber 1968)

The issue of class structuration or emergence of new order of social classes has attracted the attention of large number of scholars in India and abroad (Bottomore 1975, Glass 1967, Goldthorpe 1968, Vaid 1968, Sharma, 1974, Sharan 1978)' The studies have reported mobility as an instrumental factor in developing new kinds of class composition in the urban-industrial scenario. These scholars viewed mobility as the result of income and occupation. They opined that mobility is linked with the individual's own motivation and initiation and hence it is observed into some groups only. They further viewed social mobility taking place between the social levels which are close together, for example, between upper levels of the working class and the lower levels of the middle class. Movement from the working class into the upper class is very restricted and limited in all contemporary societies. In literature, one can find two school of thoughts with relation to the aspect of social mobility

1. Movement of individuals into the higher rung of classes because of one's own achievement and motivation that is due to the individuals own initiation and desire. This school overemphasizes on the situation of personality factor

- 2 Another school talks of movement of individuals into higher rung of classes because of external situation, may be organizational or some push and pull factors

In the first school, emphasis is made on support or facilitators which try to enthuse individuals in becoming mobile. In the latter school, personality factor is sidelined, while organizational or situational opportunities have been brought at fore. The two schools present conflicting stands. Since a conflict is raised by presenting two kinds of views in literature, therefore, one would always like to know which school in literature, has greater relevance for understanding the aspect of the contemporary class structuration occurring among Indian Industrial workers.

At this point, one may ponder, as to what are the typical characteristics of the industrial classes. It becomes pertinent to present the typical characteristics of the working class as gathered from the literature. Many scholars have contributed to the study of Industrial classes. Notable among these scholars are Goldthorpe (1968) Rinehart (1971) and Bottomore (1966). To understand the pattern and trends of class structuration, the identification of these characteristics becomes useful. For this purpose, we have identified a set of typical characteristics to distinguish the working class from the middle and the upper class of India. These typical characteristics of social classes are identified from various studies found in literature (Rinehart 1971, Goldthorpe 1968, Mishra 1983, Dahrendorf 1959). These characteristics would enable the reader to draw a line between the working class and the other classes (middle and upper). The following table shows the typical characteristic features of the social classes in a paradigmatic manner. It is evident from table 1.1 that the working class is characterized by strong solidarity in which the middle and the upper class lacks. The upper class is characterized by individualistic orientation. It is often seen that industrial working class huddle together, coming from the same village, speaking the language, pursuing the same religion and belonging to the same caste and community etc. While other classes do not exhibit the same kinds of soft feelings for their village-folks, kith and kins or community men as reported by various studies (Sharma 1974, Lambert 1963). The working class has an existential way of living whereby they all

Table 1 1 Typical Characteristics of Social Classes

Working Class	Middle Class	Upper Class
Strong we feeling	Lacks in togetherness and collectivity	Highly individualistic and self centered
Lacks in aspiration and achievement	Highly aspired and strong achievement orientation	Lacks in aspiration because highly satisfied
Existential way of living	Lacks in existential living	Affluent living
Lacks in moral overtones	Moral overtones	Lacks moral overtones
Lacks in future perspective	Lots of futuristic plans	Very meticulous planning
Devoid of economic power	Has economic and social power but lacks in decision making power	Has all kinds of power economic, social and decision making

believe in the philosophy of 'eat, drink and be merry' They live in the present and are least bothered about the future The middle class plans ahead for the future exigencies The upper class on the contrary is very ostentatious and leads a luxurious living The working class is also characterized by showing lack of moral values which the middle class upholds with greater severity The upper class disregards the values of moral actions The working class is completely devoid of all kinds of powers i.e. economic, social and decision making power while the middle class has economic and social power but is devoid of decision making power The upper class has all kinds of power including decision making power We shall come to this discussion in detail later in chapter VII

In summary, the typical class characteristics of social groups of India are quite

distinctive to each other. They have been used as a main parameter for finding out the emerging trends of mobility among the industrial workers. As mentioned earlier, emergence of new strata of working class brought a new set of social relationships. Two elements have played a decisive role in bringing about social change in India—first, western Science and Technology and second social planning in post independence era. The influence of technology has been apparent in diverse areas of social life. Improvement in living conditions and the introduction of capitalist industry brought about tremendous changes in the property system and division of labour. In turn it paved the way for a new social strata and classes which played an important part in the political, social and economic development in India. It was in this light, the conditions of the working class was thought to be examined.

1.4 Survey of Existing Literature

There are several studies on industrial workers. These studies can be broadly classified into two categories,

- Studies conducted abroad,
- Studies conducted in India

1.4.1 Studies conducted abroad

The first systematic attempt to study the conditions of human beings at work before the Industrial Revolution was done by Bernadino Ramazzini entitled Diseases of Tradesman in 1700 A.D. In that book he described the sickness among the washerwomen and metal diggers. In the post-industrial revolution era, Engels and Marx (1973) studied the consequences of industrial revolution and its impact on the working class. They concluded that industrial revolution resulted in the dislocation of the workers. Taylor (1947) was the first to make a systematic study of industrial work. Mayo (1949) studied

the problems of labour turnover in industrial organizations. Later studies by scholars like Moore (1951, 1960) Kerr et al (1960) studied the conflict which arose between the norms and values of the traditional societies and industrial civilization. Goldthorpe et al (1982) studied the aspirations, political affiliations and voting behaviour of the workers. Myers (1958), Moore and Feldman (1960) have studied the recruitment process and commitment of the industrial workers. Bastien et al (1995), have analyzed the climate in which organizations function have become a popular subject. Banking on the structuration theory of Giddens, the authors have tested its viability in reference to employee relations within an organization. Their findings reveal that climate plays an important role in influencing organizational life, particularly achievement levels of the employee. Goss and Lindquist (1995) have applied the theory of structuration to international labour migration, using case study material from Philippines. The authors conclude that structuration framework is eminently suited for further research on International migration. In a study by Iverson (1996) a model that predicts the acceptance of organizational change from a large public hospital in Victoria in Australia has been tested. The author came out with the finding that employee acceptance of organizational change is increased by organizational commitment, harmonious industrial relations, education and job motivation, job satisfaction and job security. On the other hand, job change in an organizational change is decreased by union membership, role conflict, tenure and environmental opportunity. The author argued that organizational commitment acts as both a determinant and mediator in the change process. Sivesind (1995) analyzed job related attitudes and values among industrial workers in two different factories located in two different countries. The two countries were Germany and Norway. He found that German workers were more professional in their work, reported more autonomy, better opportunities for self realization and higher job satisfaction. On the contrary, the Norwegian workers were concerned more about equality and social aspects of work. They had a close relationship with their superiors and had more friends at work place. They valued friendly work mates more than high pay. This study emphasized that cultural factors had an important effect which was not reducible to institutional or structural differences. The interplay between these factors cannot be ignored in the explanation of differences in the understanding of work or in the

structure and functioning of economic organization in different countries. Holmstorm (1989) studied the workers co-operatives in Emilia Romagna, the Italian region which presents the best example of flexible specialization in organizations

1.4.2 Studies Conducted in India

The current literature on social behaviour in industrial organizations confines primarily to social relations within organizations as well as social and cultural forces outside organizations. The point of departure for the sociologists interest in organizations was provided by the assumption that modern industrial, educational and other formal organizations were a product of an industrial culture of the west which was incompatible with the traditional Indian culture. Initially many scholars diverted their energies in examining the roles of traditional bonds of caste, kinship, village, agriculture, and religion in influencing people's behaviour and performance at work. Prabhu (1956), Niehoff (1964), Lambert (1963), and Subramaniam (1971) studied the social and cultural characteristics of the people managing the organizations. Behaviour patterns, attitudes of people in relation to work and work organizations and interaction between work roles and social roles were studied at length by Lambert (1963), Vaid (1968), Sharma (1974), and Sharan (1978).

The pioneering works in India are of Sheth (1968), Rice (1958), Holmstorm (1978), Ramaswamy (1977) and Lambert (1963). Their main interests were in the area of social structure, social change and industrial conflict of the organizations. Sheth's (1968) study of an industrial organization analyzed the formal division of labour, the hierarchy and authority in the formal organization in the context of social relationships. Ramaswamy (1977) studied the trade unions and workers in Coimbatore and brought out the pervasive influence of the idioms of traditional Indian culture on the spectrum of labour management interactions. Mamkoottam (1982) studied trade unionism in Tisco. He has analyzed the power of conflict within organizations objectively.

Studies related to industrial work are significant in number. Problems of perfor-

mance such as absenteeism, discipline, shift work, and productivity were undertaken by Srinivasan (1964), and Sharma (1970). An altogether different stream of organizational studies covered socio-psychological processes such as leadership, communication, decision making, motivation etc. were carried out by Choudhary (1970), Basu (1972), Patel (1970), D'Souza (1976), Sinha (1979). These studies were mainly conducted to identify leadership styles, communication patterns and motivational strategies to attain performance related objectives within organizations. Singer (1972) Holmstorm (1978) studied the behaviour and attitudes of the workers and managers in South India. Holmstorm drew our attention to the differentiation between the organized and unorganized sectors of the working class. He examined workers attitudes to work and their concept of career in industry. He dwelt on the life in an urban community in relation to the force of traditional institutions. Rice (1958) studied the problems and conflicts in an industrial organization in Gujrat. Punekar (1948), Giri (1958), Sharma (1963), Mathur (1964) and Johri (1967), have attempted to study the emergence and growth of trade unionism in India. Vaid (1967) and Sharma (1974) examined the problem of recruitment and commitment of the workers to their jobs. Sharan (1978) studied the trends of embourgeoisement setting among the working class industrial and non industrial women workers.

Holmstorm (1994) studied the small and medium enterprises in Bangalore who worked for larger firms but developed their own products. The author opined that inspite of numerous obstacles, innovation takes place within the enterprise in order to create a niche in the market with regard to product and the enterprise. Pandey (1994) examined the role of conflict with relation to age, tenure, job involvement and role efficacy within an organization. He based his findings on the study of mid level managers in four organizations in India. Chaddha (1994) studied the industrial workers and concluded that regulation of industrial relations is necessary in the present situation. He opined that modern industrial workers are alienated from employers, and are increasingly subject to the complex economic and social relationships over which they have no control. The need for regulation of industrial relations is greatest in developing countries like India, where financial hardships are prevalent and labor movements

have not yet developed into effective instruments for combatting management abuses or rectifying worker dissatisfaction. Pandey (1994) postulated a theoretical framework which emphasizes the utility of indigenous theory of organizations to study the Indian Organizations. He felt that nation specific theories should be developed and promoted to have a broad comprehension of organizations rather than borrowing the theories from abroad which may not be ideally applicable to the Indian conditions. Mathur(1994) expressed his scepticism about the future of trade unionism in India which has witnessed declining membership, political clout, and tactical strength, both in India and abroad. He opined that due to its pursuit of the erstwhile mixed economy, India developed several forms of union. This fragmentation, coupled with a shrinking base, makes collective mobilization unlikely. The future of unions in India depends on broadened objectives that seek the well-being of all working people. The democratization of unions and coalitions or mergers of unions with overlapping concerns are also advocated. Mishra (1990) opined that a new generation of workers characterized by individualism, non traditionalism and greater awareness will emerge in India and pose new types of problems for the personnel managers. Srivastava and Mishra (1988) explored how regional development could be achieved through development of entrepreneurship. They proposed two models, viz horizontal model and the vertical model and concluded that in both the models flow of information was of utmost importance. Agarwala (1989) examined the leader-follower relationship within a large Indian industrial organization viz Bhilai Steel Plant studying how workers perceive leaders behavior patterns and working styles.

1.5 Gaps in the Studies

A close perusal of the studies reveals the following gaps in the existing literature

1. Most of the studies conducted in India have been undertaken on the industrial scenario of Gujrat, or South India (Lambert 1963, Sheth 1968)

2. None of the studies has highlighted the importance of Life-Chances with specific reference to the industrial workers and their exposure to the industrial work organizations
- 3 The studies have not been able to show direct link between workers career aspiration/ achievement orientation with the type of organization and its authority structure

In view of the above discussion, certain questions come to our mind. These questions are.

- 1 Can all industrial organizations be categorized into one category? If not, then on what basis can they be differentiated?
2. Is there any link between the mobility orientation among the workers and the organizational climate of the industrial work organizations?
- 3 Is there any link between mobility and work environment? If so, then can it be true for all kinds of industrial organizations in India?

With these questions in mind, the present study of industrial organizations of Uttar Pradesh is taken up

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the study is linked with the theory of classes in a work-organization within a frame reference of class mobility. The advent of industrial work brought the realization that work is the main factor in bringing a change from the simple Homo-faber to Homo-sapiens. Weberian model of work ethic has drawn the attention to the fact that the behaviour of the workers cannot be understood unless one is knowledgeable about the work setting or work organization where work groups are formed. Later on, several authors have drawn their attention to the formal structure

of organization (Merton 1957, Blau 1956, Scott 1982, Rose 1975) In the tradition of Taylor and Weber, the authors have specified the conditions for the effectiveness of a rational, bureaucratic organization i.e perfect adaptation of means to ends and the use of abstract and universal rules However, the ideal of bureaucratic organization is seldom realized, because of the interference of the human factor American business firms could achieve greater success because they infused a work culture, among the workers such as conscientious performance of work tasks, willingness to defer gratification, save earnings, individualistic string for success via promotion at work and the primacy of work domain amongst other departments of social existence (Taylor 1947)

Some of the recent studies have reported a different kind of picture that is, workers not showing their commitment to work norms as they do not striving for any success, especially the manual workers The divergent findings of studies developed two major concerns in the field of work organization The first of these is the study of changes in the technical and organizational aspects of work, leaving an impact on commitment levels, structure of work groups and on occupational socialization The second major concern is the analysis of interaction and attitudes of the workers within the group structure, that is of strategies open to workers, given the technical conditions of the work setting (Burns and Stalker 1994, Goldthorpe 1968) In particular, several authors have demonstrated that there is a close relationship between technical characteristics of the work setting and the status or prestige system of a work group A case in point is that, a work organization may be studied not as a place of work but as a unit where workers have been putting their entire working life What are the stages of the workers career-life- from the first entry to the matured system of work life? How does the work environment create an instinct of mobility under different technological and social conditions? What attitudes and aspirations are associated with different types of workers such as manual and non manual, administrative and managerial etc? The studies of occupational and social mobility have provided us with dynamic models of career and career related attitudes (Lipset and Bendix, 1959) It is well known, that downwardly mobile individuals do not exhibit the same patterns of behaviour as those who are upwardly mobile However, in literature, not many studies have been

conducted to relate the types of organization with the aspect of individuals' class mobility in the frame reference of classes. Thus, it becomes essential to examine the role of work organizations on class mobility. Studies conducted on industrial classes again have been of different nature. For example, Marxian studies have analyzed classes in relation to the economic conditions that is two bi-polar groups divided on the basis of ownership of capital and means of production. Thus, one group is termed as the property owner and another one is the property less. For them, class was more than just a way of describing the economic position of different groups, because they saw classes as tangible collectivities as real social forces having the capacity to change, provided certain amount of awareness towards relationship to the means of production was generated.

On the other hand, Weber divided the classes according to economic differences of market situation that gave rise to different life-chances. Capital was one source of market capacity, but skill and education formed another (Bottomore 1966). Thus, Weber identified four categories of classes

- 1 The Propertied class
- 2 The intelligentsia, the administrative and the managerial class
- 3 Petty bourgeois class of small businessmen, supervisors and trained personnel
- 4 The working class

Weber did present another significant principle of stratification that differed from class namely social honour or status. Modern accounts of class have created a debate whether classes can be identified only on the basis of economic condition or economic along with social conditions, prestige and life chances. Modern thinkers wish to identify classes as social categories and thus they have ranked classes on a whole variety of factors such as prestige, power, wealth and consumption patterns. British sociologists initially divided the industrial workers on the basis of division of labour such as manual and non manual occupations (Glass 1967). However, the division is no longer useful

in the contemporary industrial work organizations because the economic and social conditions of low level, non manual employees have become more like manual workers.

With relation to Indian situation, studies report that Indian classes can be defined by the criteria of market-situation and work-situation. Both these criteria are taken together in the aspect of 'life-chances'. The market situation refers to material rewards related with job benefits and opportunity, such as pay, job-benefits and opportunity for promotion social affiliation such as caste, religious, family background. The work-situation refers to work-tasks, work-environment and responsibilities, the structure of social relations at work, control or authority systems existing in the work organizations. There is assumed congruence between the factors that market rewards and working conditions become progressively better as one ascends the class hierarchy. The process by which classes may be transformed from economic categories into socially meaningful groups is commonly referred to as structuration. Factors determining structuration include residence, pattern of social mobility and common life-styles, these tend to turn classes into identifiable social groups (Lockwood et al 1968 and 1969).

The application of Weberian model of class is not easily identifiable. The criteria in principle allow for a multiplicity of classes based on different levels of market rewards, different types of work situation and different combinations of the two. This means that identifying just a few major classes is a matter of interpretation rather than being self evident and objectively determined. Most recent studies of classes tend to take either Marx or Weber as a starting point. Efforts to repair deficiencies in Marx's work, for example as reported in studies by Poulantzas (1973), Carchedi (1977) and Wright (1985) are well known. A common preoccupation of all these theorists is the issue of class boundaries and of accounting for the position of middle classes. They, all accept Marx's theory of having a big deficiency in not accepting the presence of middle classes in modern capitalist world. In contemporary societies, the predominance of one class i.e middle class is suggested. Using the Weberian notion of classes, it can be said that class structure can be seen as composed of multiple factors like opportunities, market situation, work-situation which are construed as life-chances etc (Wright,1985).

However, none of the studies have pointed out a possible relationship between the type of work organization and class structuration. The present study wishes to draw attention to this aspect of work situation which might influence the class boundaries within a work organization. For making this study a useful exercise, two different types of work organizations have been chosen based on Burns and Stalker's model of organization. Efforts have been made to investigate the role of work organization on the aspect of formation of new classes termed as class-structuration in Indian industrial scenario.

The work organization theory developed by Burns and Stalker suggests two types of organization which are termed as 'mechanistic' and 'organic' (Burns and Stalker, 1994). They have characterized the distinction between 'mechanistic' and 'organic' organizations on following five different indicators:

- 1 Nature of Environment
- 2 Organization of Work
- 3 Nature of Authority
- 4 Type of Communication system
- 5 Nature of Commitment

In 'mechanistic' organization, the environment is very formal and strict rules and regulations are made to adhere to. Thus, the atmosphere is stable and rigid. Formal control is characterized by a rigid hierarchical structure of control where operations are divided into various departments, sections etc. In these departments various tasks are performed by a designed norm and frequent changes are not allowed. That is why, it is said that the work atmosphere is very formal in nature and is marked by low degree of variability. The rules to control the work-environment are made in the form of statutes, hence no deviation is permitted without involving the Chairman and Board of Directors. This results in extreme kind of routinization and stagnation. Consequently, this kind of organization becomes very static and lack of dynamism sets in.

On the contrary, in 'organic' organization, not much importance is given to the formulation of rules and regulations for control. There are no rigid rules in the form of statutes. The atmosphere is casual, and the operations are divided into minimum kind of management cadres. To manage crises, frequent meetings are held among various cadres of management and workers, ignoring the hierarchical boundaries. Workers are free to approach their bosses to discuss their operational problems. Thus, the work environment is quite informal in 'organic' organizations. Management control too, is characterized by direct control, where operations are divided into self dependent units under a sectional head. In these units tasks are performed by individuals who are guided by flexible norms. Frequent changes among supervisors, managers are permitted easily if some needs arise. All these attributes suggest that work atmosphere in organic organization is very informal and open, which results into bringing high degree of integration of workers with the higher order of the bureaucratic structure.

1.7 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of the study is to find out the empirical viability of Weber's concept of life-chances for explaining the process of class structuration among the industrial workers of India. Alongwith the overall objective, there are some additional objectives of the study as enumerated below

- 1 to examine the differential characteristics of the industrial workers employed in 'mechanistic' and 'organic' type of organizations,
- 2 to assess the importance of market situation among the industrial workers,
- 3 to understand the extent of influence of work-situation on the aspect of class mobility taking place among the industrial workers and,
- 4 to study and identify the factors responsible for the process of class structuration taking place among the industrial workers of Uttar Pradesh,

1.8 Hypothesis

Having identified the major and some additional objectives of the study, it would be imperative to develop a set of hypotheses which can be examined and verified from the empirical situation. Thus, the following set of hypotheses is developed for empirical verification

1. Higher is the level of education, greater is the preference for industrial occupations
2. Greater is the job commitment, less is the preference for routinized work condition
3. Difference of assesment between workers perceived status and their SES
4. Better is the future planning for children, greater is the possibility of moving farther from the working class
5. Progressively higher is the occupational aspiration, better is the SES
6. Lacking in the collective orientation, greater is the possibility of moving into middle class categories
7. Better is the future planning, greater is the possibility of moving farther from working class
8. Life-chances have inverse relationship with the type of work organization

1.9 Concepts and Definitions

1.9.1 Manual Workers

The manual workers are those workers who are unskilled or semiskilled and have no formal training in the profession. They are engaged in non specialized tasks in the industrial organization which require minimul expertise

1.9.2 Non Manual Workers

Under this category, workers who have formal training in the profession are included. They are skilled workers and have specialized and clearly demarcated roles to perform in the organization.

1.9.3 Industrial Organization

Industrial organization in the study is defined as the condition in which a worker is employed and carries out his work.

1.9.4 Mechanistic Organization

Mechanistic organizations are marked by hierarchical structure of organization and control, rigid rules, close communication and less commitment among the employees. The overall atmosphere in the organization is very formal.

1.9.5 Organic Organization

Organic organizations are characterized by informal work atmosphere, open system of communication, full commitment among the employees, friendly authorities and democratic arrangement of relationship between management and employees.

1.9.6 Classes

Classes are used as status groups which are characterized by endogamous nature and its members usually display similar style of life. The status groups as Weber has called them maintain distinctiveness of their own. Classes are of three kinds, viz working class, middle class and the upper class.

1.9.7 Working Class

Working class are those who are employed in the industrial organization and are involved in the manufacturing process and eke out a living from it. They have meager wages and are characterized by strong solidarity, lack in material possession and future planning, lack in aspiration and morality. Working class is devoid of all types of power viz political, social and decision making power.

1.9.8 Middle Class

Middle classes are characterized by lack of collective orientation, meticulous future planning, high aspiration, moral overtones and strong desire for material possession. Middle class may have social power but no economic and decision making power.

1.9.9 Upper class

Upper classes are characterized by lack of collective orientation, luxurious and ostentatious living, having all kinds of power like money, decision making and social power.

1.9.10 Life-chances

Life-chances has been used in the study to denote the chances of acquiring certain attributes which come to the individual either by birth or by the environment to which he is exposed.

1.9.11 Market Situation

Market situation can be defined as the conditions which facilitate a worker to develop affinity with the work place. Normally, these are external support indicators like income, conditions of work, social relationships etc. which increase the marketability of

the worker.

1.9.12 Work Situation

Work situation can be defined as the condition in which a worker works. In it, the organizational climate can be mentioned which inculcates work culture among the respondents. These are dependent upon the nature of environment, nature of authority, communication and commitment.

1.9.13 Class Structuration

It can be defined as the process of formation of new groups. Structuration results due to the upward and the downward mobility.

1.9.14 Aspiration

Aspiration in the study is used to denote the feeling of attaining high goals in life. These feelings of attainment are dependent on the educational and the social conditions of the individual.

1.9.15 Commitment

Commitment can be defined as the feeling for optimum performance at work so as to increase the production and the output.

1.9.16 Social Mobility

Present industrial societies are characterized by hierarchical arrangement of statuses in which advantages of wealth, power and esteem increase as the hierarchy is ascended. Social mobility refers to the movement of individuals between different levels of the

social hierarchy usually defined occupationally. When there is mobility in one's status and occupation then it is termed as upward mobility and the reverse is known as downward mobility.

Chapter 2

Research Design

The introductory chapter had a brief discussion on the need of ascertaining the trends of class-structuration found among the industrial workers of Uttar Pradesh. Since it is an empirical study, it is essential to explain the scheme of research design in a systematic manner so that one can understand the steps undertaken for the conduct of the study. Thus the chapter presents the scheme of research design in the following way

1. Universe of study
2. Locale of study
3. Sample-selection and size of sample
4. Tools and techniques of data collection
5. Duration of Data collection
6. Analysis of data
7. Field experiences
8. Measurements

2.1 Universe

The universe of the present study is the industrial workers of Uttar Pradesh, henceforth, (U P) working in the manufacturing units. It is considered to be the most populous state of India. It was selected as the universe of the study primarily because of the following three reasons

- First, U P has a long history of factory production, and therefore, it presents the tradition of industrial culture among the industrial workers
- Second, U P has registered a lot of diversification in manufacturing production which has created a host of social issues
- Third, most of the contemporary industrial workers of U P are generally not migrant workers (U P Directorate of Industries) as is the case with the industrial workers of Gujarat, Maharashtra and West Bengal (Lambert 1963, Sheth 1968, Sharma 1974, Sharan 1978)

The state of U P is spread in an area of 294411 square kilometres (Statistical Diary 1994). The total population of the state is of 1390331130 persons and thus it has the distinction of being the most populous state of the country. The density of the population is 471 persons per square kms. On the north it is surrounded by ranges of the Himalayan Mountain, and therefore, it constitutes international boundaries with Nepal and Tibet. It shares common boundaries in the east with another state of India i.e. Bihar, further in the south with Madhya Pradesh, and in the west with Haryana, Delhi and Rajasthan. Geographical and political importance of the state in the national scenario has widely been talked about. The state has significantly contributed to the socio-political life of the country. The first war of independence had started from Meerut in U P in the year 1857 and had subsequently spread over to various other places. Allahabad has been the nerve centre of national, social and cultural movements. Since Independence in 1947, the state has a unique distinction of producing seven out of twelve Prime Ministers of India namely, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Smt. Indira

Gandhi, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Rajeev Gandhi, Charan Singh, Chandra Shekhar and V.P.Singh. In addition to this, U P had a long history of industrial production. Textile manufacturing units such as British Cotton Corporation Limited (known as Lal Imlı Mills), Muir Mills, Victoria Mills etc. were set up in U P way back in 1867. Because of the establishment of such manufacturing units, Kanpur was given a nickname of the 'Manchester of India'. After independence, this practice continues because of the unlimited supply of raw materials and work force drawn from its hinterland. Likewise, Allahabad city was originally promoted as a centre of academic excellence, till 1947. After independence, it emerged as a pioneering centre of industry and manufacturing processes because of the establishment of various manufacturing units such as Indian Telephone Industries, Raymonds, Swadeshi Cotton Mills, Triveni Structural Limited, Bharat Pumps and Compressor, Limited, Hindustan Cables etc. It is also the place of chemical industries like Dey's Medical, Vaidyanath Ashrama, Pioneer Cycle Industries, Triveni Sheet Glass industries besides many other small ancillary units.

2.2 Locale

The study area is confined to the manufacturing industries which are chosen from two cities of U P viz Kanpur and Allahabad. They are industrially prominent districts of the state and have a long tradition of urban-industrial culture.

2.2.1 Kanpur

Kanpur city claims its importance of being the largest city of the state. It is 435 kms away from Delhi, the national capital. It is stretched over an area of 1065 square kms. It lies on the main railway from Pathankot to Calcutta. The national highway No 2, i.e. Grand Trunk Road also passes through the city. These give it an added logistical advantage for the transport of goods, products and services. The river trade also was very important at one point in the history and provided the cities distinct advantage for flourishing of trade. The statistical figure of the census shows the dominance of

male population over female population (Statistical Handbook, 1996)

Kanpur had no urban or industrial significance prior to 1857 (Newill, 1909). Prior to 1857, it comprised of a few small villages. During 1857 and 1914 some industrial development started taking place, primarily to cater to the needs of British soldiers. The military required boots, saddles and clothing, arms and ammunitions. In order to fulfil the needs of the military outfit, some cotton mills and tanneries were set up in the city (Desai 1969). This marked the beginning of the industrialization process. British Cotton Corporation Ltd consisting of some textile units such as Lal Imli Mills, Victoria Mills, Muir Mills etc were set up in 1867 while Elgin Cotton spinning Mill was founded in 1880. A number of tanneries were also set up during this period to manufacture leather boots etc for the military use. Between 1915 to 1947 some additional manufacturing units were set up to produce fertilizers, heavy engineering goods, especially railway wagons which were later replaced by Ordnance factory. Local entrepreneurs were lured in establishing their companies to manufacture jute, cotton, sugar, light engineering goods and oils. Among those entrepreneurs J K Group of companies became prominent and still continues its hold in the area.

After achieving independence in 1947, more factories were set up. The characteristic features of the factories established in post independence era are the specialized nature of production of goods such as electronic goods, chemicals, edible oils, spices, plastics etc. These factories started hiring large number of trained and well groomed workers. This has led to the rise in the population figure of Kanpur. In 1951, the total population of Kanpur was only seven lakhs while in 1971 it increased to 13 lakhs, approximately doubling the population in twenty years. In 1991, it became more than 21 lakhs population. This trend shows an exponential growth of the population of Kanpur in last forty years and studies co-relate this rise with the rise of the industrial activities (Sharan 1978, Newell 1996). The major class characteristics of Kanpur industrial population are two fold. First, it comprises of two categories of population very rich persons as factory owners, industrialists and big entrepreneurs and the industrial labour class which lacks in education, money and affluence. Second, the ratio of

population of male as compared to female is much less (Awasthi 1985) According to 1991 census it has a population of 3787134 persons of which 2068420 are males while 1718714 are females (Census of India, 1991).

2.2.2 Allahabad

The city of Allahabad is one of the most ancient cities of India. It is situated approximately 200 kms away from Kanpur and 627 kms away from the national capital city Delhi (Railway Timetable October, 1996). The total area of Allahabad district is 7261 sq kms. In terms of population it has a population of 3797033 persons. Allahabad is also known by another name as Prayagaraja. Prior to independence, the district was known more for its academic and administrative attributes. Even today, it is considered to be an important seat of education and learning (Chand 1969). It has the honour of producing many important political figures like Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, V. P. Singh, Indira Gandhi, Rajeev Gandhi, Madan Mohan Malviya, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Murl Manohar Joshi etc. Being an important political and educational centre of the state, Allahabad started acquiring a place on the Industrial map of the state after the Independence. Several small and large public and private industrial establishments have come into existence in recent times.

In the pre independence period, Swadeshi Cotton Mill was the only factory which attracted large number of persons for employment. Added to it, carpet weaving was another important cottage industry in the peripheral rural sectors which had gained importance. After independence, various industrial activities related with stock raising, wood cutting, glass work, manufacturing of watches and clocks, hand carving on precious stones, jewels and gems, manufacturing of musical instruments and appliances etc. started (Chand 1969). In the late 60's and early 70's many big industrial establishments have come into existence like Indian Telephone Industries, Bharat Pumps and Compressors Limited, Triveni Structurals Limited, etc. under the public sector. Some additional industrial units have been set up by co-operative and private enterprises too. They are IFFCO, Hindustan Cables, General Electric Company, Dey's Medicals,

Raymonds Textiles etc. Thus, in the last three decades, Allahabad had witnessed diversified nature of factories being set up by Government and private corporations

Added to these, Allahabad has the High-Court of the state, some important Central Government Offices like Divisional Railway Manager's Office, Central Defence Accounts Office, Accountant General's Office and important state government offices like Directorate of Education, Madhyamik Shiksha Parishad etc. The Allahabad University, Regional Engineering College, Medical College, Defence Department and Ordnance Factory have all employed a diversified kind of population. A large chunk of population belongs to the salaried class, self employed professionals, academicians, engineers politicians etc. In recent times the category of working class has also emerged because of the establishment of various public and private manufacturing units

2.3 Sample-Selection

Sample-size is a very important aspect of any investigation. Since both the districts are pretty large, extensive and scattered, it was decided to restrict the sample size to a manageable limit which was confined to three hundred respondents. Enough care was taken to include representative units of the population in the samples of the study

The Research Design

Table 2.1 Type of Industrial Workers

Organisation	Manual Workers	Non Manual Workers	Total
Private	75	75	150
Public	75	75	150
Total	150	150	300

At this stage it will be in the fitness of things to describe the technical procedures by which this study is to be conducted. Since the research design has a com-

comparative framework, the units of investigation were selected which were comparable. Two government controlled organizations and three in private ownership were selected assuming that government controlled organizations might have greater emphasis on following the organizational norms etc. They have been further categorised as 'mechanistic' and 'organic' organizations (for details see chapter III and IV). To bring in varieties, the units selected for the study are also divided on the basis of production. For example, one unit Iffco is engaged in the production of fertilisers and is a privately owned unit. The other unit Indian Telephone Industry (ITI) is engaged in the manufacturing of telephone equipments and components in the public sector. Both units are in Allahabad. Ema India is engaged in the manufacturing of induction heating equipments and is situated in Kanpur. Ordnance factory of Kanpur is a public sector unit, producing ammunitions for the army and Lohia Machines Limited, is a private owned organization engaged in the manufacturing of two wheelor automobiles. Using the indicators of Burns and Stalker, they have been categorized into 'mechanistic' and 'organic' type of organizations. Detailed study of these organizations is done in chapter III and IV.

2.4 Tools and Techniques of Data Collection

In order to collect primary data from the respondents, a semi structured schedule is prepared. This schedule has a combination of close ended and open ended questions (See Appendix A). Information are collected with the help of interviews, observation, scanning of office records etc. Some additional information is collected through secondary sources such as census records, status reports of the firms etc. However, schedule is essentially the main source of data collection. Information collected through other sources is used to supplement the data for further discussion on various aspects of the problem. The schedule is designed in such a manner that respondents do not have any hesitation in answering those questions. First very general and common questions were asked which were followed by penetrating or opinion seeking questions. These type of questions are kept in the last section of the schedule. The interview schedule

is prepared in Hindi because it has to be administered on a population characterised by varying levels of awareness such as illiterate, semi-literate and literate. Interview-schedule is divided into five major sections personal data, family-data, occupational data, recreational data and mobility pattern data. Each section had 10 -12 close ended questions along with 3- 4 open ended questions. These questions focussed on one particular aspect and tried to elicit information through a cross checking method.

Before finalizing the schedule, a pilot study is conducted and the schedule is pretested on 40 persons, care is taken not to include these persons in the total samples of the study. It is administered on a purposively selected cross section of the population. Based on their responses, certain modifications were done in the final form of schedule. After this process, the schedule is administered on the respondents for collecting the primary information.

Respondents were approached through the personnel department of the organisation. Before administering the schedule, rapport is established and a friendly, informal and cordial atmosphere is created. Each interview used to take half an hour time and the respondents were taken into confidence by assuring them of strict confidentiality of their conversation and purely academic utilization of the information. The indepth interviews and subsequent observation were helpful in providing insights to comprehend respondents concern. The analyses of the compiled information are presented in the forthcoming chapters.

2.5 Duration of Data Collection

The entire period of data collection is from August 1995 to December 1996. The data collection period is spread out in two phases. The first phase started in August 1995 and lasted till March 1996. In this phase the primary data are collected from various workers of different manufacturing units of Kanpur and Allahabad. The second phase of data collection started from March 1996 and lasted till December 1996. During this phase, documents and office records were scanned to collect background information.

from various secondary sources, the directorate of industries, Labour Commissioner's Office and the libraries etc

2.6 Analysis of Data

After data collection, researcher turns to the task of analyzing them. The analysis of data requires a number of closely related operations such as coding, making the typologies, finding out the possible relationships between the responses and the statistical inferences etc. The responses obtained from the respondents were coded by using a code procedure (Goode and Hatt 1989). After coding, data in the form of numerical symbols were fed into the computer with the help of dbase III and were later converted to an ASCII file. This transformed data was thus analyzed by using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). After getting the averages etc. some sophisticated analyses of data were carried out to find out the associational relationship between few independent and dependent variables.

2.7 Field Experiences

During the field work, many problems were faced by the investigator. One of the biggest problems was of gaining an entry into the factories. Initially the private industries were reluctant in permitting the researcher to conduct the operation of data collection at their factory sites. With persistent effort, this hurdle was overcome and later on, the data collection process became a smooth operation. Second major problem is that of convincing the respondents of the academic use of the study. This problem was a big irritant in the private organizations where the workers considered the investigator to be a ploy on part of the management for eliciting and extracting their feelings and intentions. However, after couple of days of stay with them in the vicinity of the organization, the process of data collection became smooth and trouble free due to the rapport established with the workers.

2.8 Measurements

In the present study, four scales are evolved to measure certain qualitative aspects. These scales are Socio-Economic Status, Aspiration, Commitment and Life-chances scale. Steps involved in formulating these scales have been elucidated in the following paragraphs

2.8.1 Measurement of Socio-Economic Status Scale

Assuming that considerable differences will be found among the respondents particularly in their age, income, education, family background and thus in their socio-economic status, it became essential to develop a proper scale which could enable the researcher to show the extent of differences. For this purpose, a socio-economic status scale (SES) which was developed by Sharan (1978) has been used. Sharan's SES scale was a modified version of Kuppuswamy's SES scale (Kuppuswamy 1962). His scale was based on only three indicators, they were education, occupation and income, while Sharan's scale was based on four indicators, education, income, occupation and caste. Kuppuswamy's scale had been modified by Sharan because in Indian society individuals' status cannot be ascertained unless caste indicator is used. This methodological rationale as suggested by Sharan looks to be more apt for the present analysis. Thus, the SES scale developed for the present study comprised of four indices income, education, occupation and caste. For the index of income a 5 point scale was developed (see Appendix B). The income earned by the individual respondent were then divided into three categories 'high', 'medium', and 'low'. The cutting points were decided upon by calculating the mean score. Thus, the cutting points were 1000/= or less per month for the low income, and Rs 4000/= or more for the high income. In this way, income categories 1 and 2 had come into low income group, 3 as the medium income group and 4 and 5 into the high income group (see Appendix B). Similarly, educational achievements of the respondents were measured by years of formal education put in by a respondent in an educational institution and the scale was divided into three cate-

gories 'high', 'medium' and 'low'. The cutting points here too were decided upon by calculating the mean score. Thus the cutting points were upto 8 years of formal school or less - low educational achievement and graduation and above high. In this way, three educational categories were made- 1 and 2 in the low level educational category, 3 and 4 into medium level educational category, and 5 and 6 were placed in the high level educational category (see Appendix B).

In India no rank order of occupation is made out. Thus, for rating occupational status, we had to seek the help of some judges. We found that Kuppaswamy's rating of occupations was rather subjective and arbitrary. To avoid possible bias, we asked five judges to give their ratings of different occupational categories impartially and objectively to which the respondents belonged. The cutting points of the occupational categories are elucidated in Appendix (Appendix B). Similarly, we sought the help of other set of five judges for ranking the status of the castes. The caste ranking procedure is detailed out in the Appendix (see Appendix B). Utmost care was taken in the selection of the judges. Only those persons were selected as judges who were acquainted with the intricacies of the hierarchical structure of the caste in the area of study. Thus, using the judges on occupation and caste combined with Sharan's method for ranking income and education, we assigned numerical scores to the responses of each respondent on the four separate scales. Taking total score into account, we classified the respondents into three - 'high', 'medium' and 'low' SES categories which were decided after calculating the mean score and the quartiles of the total scores. The sample cases which fell in the first quartile were placed in the low SES category, those in the second quartile were placed in the medium category. In the fourth quartile there were very few cases, hence we combined the third and fourth quartiles to form a single category of high SES (see Appendix B).

2.8.2 Measurement of Aspiration

Since the study aims at focussing on the trends of class- structuration, an attempt has been made to quantify and to measure a few qualitative attributes. Aspiration

for self and aspiration for children were two such types of attributes. On the basis of observations during the field work, it was decided to take the following four indicators for measuring the levels of aspiration. To determine the degree and extent of the respondents' aspiration for self, the undermentioned items were taken into consideration:

- 1 Occupational Preference
- 2 Item purchasing capacity
- 3 Saving patterns
- 4 Investment and asset building

The occupational preference of the respondents was measured on a 8 point scale. Likewise, a list of certain items was given to the respondents and they were asked to mark their preferences/ scores on a scale of 1-8. On the issue of saving pattern, the respondents who were in the habit of purchasing were given 1 point, investing 2 points and depositing 3 points. On the last item of investment and asset building, the respondents were assigned scores from 1-8 depending upon their preferences. Thus, the total score ranged from 4 - 8. Those who secured 4 points were placed in the category of 'less aspired', 4 - 6 points 'moderately aspired' and 7-8 points 'highly aspired'. Thus the scale of aspiration was divided into three major categories- less aspired, moderately aspired and highly aspired. Likewise, to assess the extent of aspiration for the dependents, the following three items are used:

- 1 Willingness to educate children
- 2 Professional career plan for their dependents
- 3 Strategies adopted for fulfilment of the career plans

For all the above items 1 point was given to positive response, and zero to each negative response. The total score ranged from 0-3. Those who secured up to 1 point

were placed in the category of 'less aspired', those who secured 2 points were placed in the category of 'moderately aspired' and the respondents who secured three points were placed in the category of 'highly aspired' Thus, the scale of dependents aspiration was prepared which was divided into three categories -least aspired, moderately aspired and highly aspired

2.8.3 Measurement of Commitment

This study wishes to examine the relationship between the aspect of 'commitment' and upward mobility among the industrial workers For examining the extent of the impact of commitment, it became essential to develop a measurement using some questions of the schedule which point towards the aspect of commitment A scale of commitment was prepared on the response pattern of the following questions

- 1 Working Condition
- 2 Interpersonal relationship
- 3 Satisfaction with the working condition such as wages, benefits etc
- 4 Nature of Authority
- 5 Decision making power

For each of these questions zero point was assigned for negative response and one point was assigned for each positive response The total score ranged from 0-10 Those who secured upto 3 point were placed in the category of 'reluctant', those who secured between 4-7 points were placed in the category of 'devoted' and the respondents who secured between 8-10 points were placed in the category of 'consecrated' workers Thus, the scale of commitment was prepared which was divided into three categories -reluctant, devoted and consecrated workers

2.8.4 Measurement of Life-Chances

This study wishes to examine the relationship between the aspect of 'life-chances' (Weberian notion) with upward mobility among the industrial workers. For examining the extent of the impact of life-chances, it became essential to develop a measurement using some questions of the schedule which point to the aspect of life-chances. There were sixteen questions in the schedule (see life-chances section of the schedule given in the Appendix A) and the questions were divided on five major items as follows:

- 1 Nature of market situation such as wages, benefits, relationship etc
- 2 Extent of influence of Family Connection
- 3 Nature of Work Situation
- 4 Material rewards at work
- 5 Life style

Thus a scale of life-chances was made consisting of the above five items. For all questions one point was given to positive response and zero point to each negative response. The total point ranged from 0-5. Those who secured 0-1 point were placed in the category of 'devoid of life-chances', those who secured upto three points were placed in the category of 'moderately exposed to life-chances' and those who secured between 4-5 points were placed in the category of 'highly exposed to life chances'. Thus the scale of respondents was divided into three major categories: deprived of life-chances, moderately benefitted by life-chances and highly benefitted by life chances.

2.9 Organization of Chapters

The present work is divided into eight chapters. First chapter deals with the Introduction in which the need of the study has been conceptualized. An extensive literature

survey has been given in this chapter to develop the major objectives and the hypotheses of the study along with the theoretical-framework. The second chapter deals with the research design of the study. In this chapter, the tools and techniques of data collection has been elucidated and the procedure adopted for analyzing the data has been detailed out. The industrial work organizations i.e. factories of the study have been divided into two major categories, they are 'Mechanistic' and 'Organic' organizations. Mechanistic type of Organizations along with respondents socio demographic profile is presented in the third chapter. This chapter includes characteristic features of the organizations, geographical location, manpower strength of the organization etc. The chapter also presents the respondents educational, income, age and other demographic attributes. The profile of the Organic type of organization along with the socio-demographic profile of the respondents has been elucidated in the fourth chapter. In this chapter, the educational, income, age and certain other attributes of the respondents have been elucidated which had important bearing on the topic of investigation. Fifth chapter aims at explaining the level of job satisfaction and commitment among the industrial workers of the study. Occupational aspirations of the workers are also discussed in the same chapter. The sixth chapter presents the differential trends of mobility visible among the respondents of the 'Mechanistic' and 'Organic' type of organizations. Seventh chapter deals with the life-chances and the process of class structuration taking place among the industrial workers of contemporary Indian society. Finally, the eighth chapter contains the conclusions and the highlighting features of the study. Suggestions for further research is also presented in this chapter along with the recommendations for policy interventions.

Chapter 3

Profile of Mechanistic Type of Organizations and Respondents' Socio-Demographic Features

3.1 Mechanistic Organizations

The previous chapter dealt with the research design of the study. This chapter aims at presenting the profile features of 'mechanistic' organization along with the socio demographic profile of the respondents employed in these type of organizations. The notion of 'mechanistic' and 'organic' organizations is propounded by two British scholars Tom Burns and G M Stalker. Their finding is based upon their study of twenty Scottish firms which were engaged in the manufacturing of electronic products. The scholars were interested in understanding the bureaucratic structure of the firms. Their finding is famous for identifying a distinction between different types of work situation. Studying the attributes of the different industries e.g. engineering, fibres, electronics goods etc., Burns and Stalker illustrated that when change in the environment becomes the order of the day, changing technological and market conditions pose new problems and challenges. To cope with these, open and flexible type of work organization is required. While in another kind of environment, market conditions may be more rigid for which patternised system of control or management, i.e. 'mechanistic' organization is needed.

Burns and Stalker's conclusion that it is possible to identify a continuum of organizational forms from rigid/specified to flexible/open system of management. The proposition of 'mechanistic' to 'organic' organizations to deal with changing environments, received support from various other studies conducted in the western countries (Etzioni, 1995)

Table 3.1 Profile of Mechanistic Organizations

	Indicators	Mechanistic Organization
1	Nature of Environment	stable and rigid Hierarchical structure of control Low degree of variability Rigid rules Formal work-atmosphere
2	Organization of work	Clearly defined jobs in hierarchical patterns Jobs defined according to functional needs Goals and targets are decided by top rung Assigned tasks are carried out by operatives
3	Nature of Authority	Domineering authorities Hierarchy is based on years of experience, controlling ability, and administrative competence
4	Communication	Vertical and selective communication Rigid Instructions Participation of all employees is not solicited
5	Nature of Commitment	Partial commitment Committed to assigned roles Loyalty and obedience is important Little feeling of organizations well being Accountability is less

Source Based on Burns and Stalker (1960)

However, in India, not many sociological studies have been conducted to understand the importance of theoretical propositions suggested by Burns and Stalker. They have characterized the distinction between 'mechanistic' and 'organic' organizations on following five different indicators (see table 3.1)

- 1 Nature of Environment
2. Nature of Organization
- 3 Nature of Authority
4. Communication Style
5. Nature of Commitment

3.1.1 Nature of Environment

In 'mechanistic' organization, the environment is very formal and strict rules and regulations are made to adhere to. The atmosphere in such organization is stable and rigid. Formal control is characterized by a rigid hierarchical structure of control where operations are divided into various departments, sections etc. In these departments different tasks are performed by designed norms and frequent changes are not allowed. That is why, in 'mechanistic' organizations the work atmosphere is very formal in nature and is marked by low degree of variability. The rules to control the workers environment are made in the form of statutes which are rigid in nature. Hence, no deviation is permitted in them without involving the Chairman and Board of Directors. This results in extreme kind of rigidity and stagnation. Consequently, the organization becomes very static and lacks in dynamism.

3.1.2 Nature of Organization

In 'mechanistic' organizations, the work is organized in a designed manner which demarcates and predefines minute details of operations. Within the organization, tasks are performed by individuals following the rank and order principle. In them, the important task of fixing the target of production and increase in consumer/user demands etc. rest with the top rungs of the hierarchy. The lower rungs carry out only the assigned tasks without being involved in the major issues of work organization. Hierarchy is well defined in these organizations.

3.1.3 Nature of Authority

With regard to authority, hierarchical rung of 'mechanistic' organizations is made on the basis of experience, controlling ability and administrative competence. According to authors, there are five types of work resting in the hands of authorities: these are directing, controlling, co-ordinating, innovation and planning (Burns and Stalker 1994). The upper rungs of the hierarchy share and shoulder tremendous amount of responsibility for decision making. They have to be well versed in all types of activities: innovation, planning, co-ordination, controlling and directing. However, innovations, planning and directions are in the hands of higher rungs of management and they cannot be performed by any other person, while co-ordination and control can be done with the help of the lower rung management. In 'mechanistic' organizations, higher rung management is very dominating and the decision making power is totally centralized in their hands. The bosses are not easily accessible to their subordinates. This makes the hierarchical structure of authority rigid and static in those organization.

3.1.4 Communication Style

Communication is defined as a social process by which contact is established between two persons. In industrial organizations, it is meant to bring men together so that they may attain organizational ends. With the help of effective communication in the industrial organizations, the designed goals are to be achieved in the shortest possible time. This is achieved through an inter-personal process of sending and receiving symbols with specific meaning attached to them. It results in promoting exchange of information and developing relationship among personnels who are constantly engaged in pursuing the objectives of the organization.

In 'mechanistic' organization, the nature of communication is supposedly formal. It is assumed that messages flow in three directions: downwards, upwards and parallel. The downward messages consist primarily of information which is necessary for any staff to carry out their normal work, such as policies, targets, orders and requests.

which are passed down from the highest bureaucracy to the appropriate level. Upward messages are generally establishment reports, material requests and complaints. Sideways messages are among different department heads/chiefs for deciding an action plan, projects, attending to complaints etc. Because of this formalized atmosphere, the participation of every employee is restricted and very limited in the organizational activities. Orders are given from the higher ranks to the lower. As a result, it is said that the communication in 'mechanistic' organizations is vertical or one way. The existence of feedback or control system makes it mandatory for the operatives to inform their higher authorities about the state of the operation and the difficulties that are encountered. They are also supposed to make their recommendations for its solutions. Keeping the above discussion in view, it can be concluded that communication channel in 'mechanistic' organization is formal, rigid, vertical and very selective.

3.1.5 Nature of Commitment

It has been stated that 'mechanistic' organizations are formal in nature and adhere to rigid hierarchical authority. The jobs are defined strictly on the basis of hierarchical patterns and authorities are domineering. All these factors result in attaching greater importance and prestige to internal knowledge, experience and skill. These attributes in the 'mechanistic' organization lead to partial commitment among the employees as they get concerned with their assigned jobs only. Whatever task is assigned to an individual, he is obliged to complete it. The employees in those organizations lack common-sense, general knowledge, experience and skills. Hence they attach more importance to loyalty and obedience. This is the tool which they consider important to survive in that organization. Their energies are not directed towards the betterment of the organization, rather appeasement of bosses for personal gains. Among them there is little feeling of organization's well being. All these conditions result in decreasing their commitment to work. Hence, we can conclude, that 'mechanistic' organizations are marked by partial commitment to assigned jobs, loyalty and obedience towards the hierarchy and lack of accountability.

highway it employed about 4500 workmen and 500 officers. This organization has two manufacturing divisions, one for the manufacture of transmission equipment and other for the telephone instruments. It also has an R & D division for design and development of new products and for technical support to production activities. Since its inception in 1971 the unit has shown a steady growth rate. To meet the increased demands of DOT (Department of Telecommunications) and other customers the Unit has launched an expansion and modernization of existing product range. An introduction of new products based on design finalised by ITI and R & D and selected technology imports has also been initiated. The industrial relations in the unit was very cordial. It had four registered unions functioning in the unit. In order to have a healthy and peaceful industrial atmosphere the management came forward with the idea of ONE INDUSTRY ONE UNION. The idea was welcomed by the employees and after having a secret ballot in the year 1993 the Mazdoor Sangh emerged to be the most popular union. As a result the three unions got deregistered and were dissolved.

Regarding the recruitment pattern, organization one and two drew officers on the basis of an All India competition. Middle level and lower level functionaries were recruited following government regulations and thus many a times competence, efficiency and ability had to be compromised. The work environment in both the organizations was found to be very formal. The rules and regulations were in operation since the inception of the organization. In the process of time, the rules and regulations have become very rigid and no modifications have been made. The organization was stable and characterized by rigid hierarchical structure of control. Every operation in the organization was done under the supervision of a supervisor. The chain of operations was divided into various sections and departments and was very lengthy. In these sections, sub-sections and departments different tasks were performed by designed norms and changes within them were not permissible without taking prior approval from the concerned authorities. It was noticed that owing to these reasons the work atmosphere became very formal and was marked by low degree of variability. The rigid statutes of the organization resulted in bringing extreme kind of routinization and stagnation in the organizations.

With regard to organization of work, it was found that organization one and two designed work in a meticulous manner which predefined the minute details of the job. Rank and order principle in the organization was strictly followed in matters pertaining to job assignment and performance. Important tasks rested with the higher rungs of the organization. Lower rung of the organization carried out assigned tasks which had little importance. Hierarchy was well defined and was strictly adhered to.

With regard to authority, it was found that both organizations had a hierarchical structure of centralized authority. The important tasks of direction, control, planning, innovation and co-ordination rested with the higher echelons of the management. The task of co-ordination and control were delegated to the lower rungs partially. It was found that the higher rung management was very dominating and indifferent to the lower rungs. The hierarchy of authority was totally centralized in their hands. The higher management was not easily accessible to the lower rungs of the management.

The style of communication in organization one and two was found to be vertical and selective. It was noticed that communication flowed in two directions only - upwards and downwards. In rare cases it also moved sideways. Instructions or orders were issued from the top to bottom and the concerned departments were asked to execute them without raising any question or fuss. Upward messages were normally establishment reports, material requests and complaints. Sideways communication took place between different departments, functions or people of the same levels in the organization. Because of this formal communication system, consultation hardly took place among different levels.

With relation to commitment, it was observed that by and large all employees were not committed to their organization. Commitment was only restricted to their assigned roles. Consequently, the employees used to perform their tasks in a very mechanical manner. They lacked in feeling of belongingness, hence the organizational welfare, profit and well being were completely ignored by them. After expediting their assigned duties, they never used to worry about anything else. Employees attached more importance to showing loyalty and obedience to their immediate bosses because

they always helped them for their survival in the organization rather than developing skills and proficiency. As a result of all these, jobs were carried out by them in a mechanical manner, with little or no commitment to the organization.

The characteristic features of the twin organizations which had been elucidated above fit in the criteria of 'mechanistic' organization as suggested by Burns and Stalker. In the above organizations there existed a specialized division of labour. The rights and duties of each employee were precisely defined. In both the organizations it was found that there was a hierarchic structure of control, authority and communication. Interaction between members of the concern (organization) was vertical. In other words, interaction took place between the immediate superiors and the subordinates. Specialized tasks were co-ordinated by a management hierarchy which directed operations and initiated decisions. Because of the vertical communication instructions flowed downwards through a chain of commands. Response from the subordinates moved upward and was processed by various levels in the organizational hierarchy before it reached the top. These organizations insist on loyalty to the concern and obedience to superiors as a condition of membership. Each individual in the organization was held responsible for discharging his assigned duties and nothing more. The overall atmosphere of the organization was formal in nature.

3.2 Socio Demographic Features of the Respondents

After presenting the features of the 'mechanistic' type of organizations, it would be pertinent to present the demographic features of its respondents. The critical role played by the socio-demographic background of any individual in the shaping and formation of his career cannot be underestimated. In this section, we propose to elucidate the general characteristics of the respondents in the 'mechanistic' type of organization with a view to bring out the differences between the samples of manual and non manual workers. The socio-demographic background plays a decisive role in determining the career-orientation of an individual. This statement can be supported by citing the

following lines of Benedict 'Most people are plastic to the moulding force of the society into which they are born' (Benedict 1934) Fromm (1947) too has supported the statement of Ruth Benedict by stating that man's nature, his passion and anxieties are a cultural product. Therefore, it is natural to pay greater attention on the background of the respondents.

In order to understand the background of the respondents the following aspects are chosen for greater elucidation.

- 1 Location (urban-rural)
- 2 Caste
- 3 Age
- 4 Education
- 5 Technical Education
- 6 Occupation
- 7 Income
- 8 SES categories

The demographic attributes are presented in the above mentioned aspects because these help individuals in forming their groups. The purpose of this section is to acquaint ourselves with the important socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents.

3.2.1 Location Distribution (Urban / Rural)

Studies conducted in India emphasize that persons came to city in search of employment from rural areas (Gadgil 1971). They were driven by the imbalances between man and natural resources.

Table 3 2 Location Distribution of the Respondents

N=150

Native Place	Frequency	Percentage
Village	60	46
Town	65	48
City	25	16
Total	150	100

Analysis of data in table 3 2 shows that around 46 per cent of the respondents come from rural background and they still maintain a strong link with their villages. While around 64 per cent of the respondents come from urban units i.e. towns and cities and their per centage was 16 per cent and 48 per cent respectively. This indicates that majority of respondents are coming from urban centres. It is interesting to suggest that similar observations were made by various other studies (Gisbert 1972, Sharma 1979) conducted three decades earlier. The trend which started setting in the early period of post-independence due to paucity of employment in rural areas is still continuing in more a vigorous manner with respect to the industrial workers (Sheth 1969, Vaid 1965, Sharan 1978, Sharma 1978).

Noted historian Habib has pointed out that during British rule people migrated from the villages to the commercial centres (Habib 1963). However, recent studies show that villagers are migrating from villages to even nearby urban centres (Lambert 1963, Sharan 1978). To some extent this trend is visible among the respondents of this study too.

Table 3 3 Age Composition of the Respondents

N=150

Age	Frequency	Percentage
Young (21 to 35)	59	39
Middle (36 to 50)	70	47
Old (51 to 60)	21	14
Total	150	100 00

3.2.2 Age Composition

The age composition of respondents as suggested in table 3 3 reveals a wide range of age starting from 21 to 60 years. The various age groups have been classified into three categories i.e. young age from 21 to 35 years, middle age from 36 to 50 years and old age from 51 to 60 years. No respondents are found to be below the age of 21 years or above the age of 60 years. Table reveals that more than 39 per cent of the respondents belong to the young age category of 21 -35 years. While 47 per cent of the respondents are in the middle age group i.e. 36 years to 50 years and only 14 per cent of the respondents are in the old age category i.e. 51 years to 60 years. Thus, the table suggests that in mechanistic type of organization an overwhelming majority of respondents is in the young or middle age categories. The table further reveals that by and large the average age of industrial workers is 34.5 years which approximately also confirms the findings of other studies. For example, Lambert (1963) who studied the industrial workers of Ahmedabad had reported the average age of his respondents as 32.4 years. Similar findings were also reported by Sharan (1978) and Sharma (1979). The average age of their respondents was roughly 33 years. A similar study conducted by Sharma (1978) also came to the similar finding. Therefore, it can be concluded that

the age composition of the workforce has not changed over the period. It is interesting to point out that even regional variation also is unable to show any impact on the age composition of the industrial workers.

3.2.3 Caste Composition

After making a close perusal of literature, we can infer that caste in India affected the supply of labour in the early period of industrialisation. Lambert (1963), Sharma (1979), Rao (1972) came out with the findings that different caste group workers were found among the industrial labour force. Caste groups of India are considered to be an endogamous group having strict rules of endogamy and interdining. However, in our study we have combined various castes depending upon their ranking in the census as one group. Therefore, the respondents belonging to various caste groups have been clubbed into one macro group as suggested by the Census Reports (GOI Census 1991) for the sake of making a comparative analysis. Balmiki, Chamar, Dhobi, Kori, Gaderia, Dom, Kevat and Pasi have been grouped under the category of the low castes. Badhai, Yadav, Kurmi, Kushwaha, Nai, Vishvakarma and Kumhar have been put in the category of the medium caste. Likewise, Rajput, Baniya, Kayastha, Khatun and Brahmin have been put together in the category of high caste. By making these categories one can make a conclusive statement with great ease.

The present table shows that the high caste constitutes 38 per cent of the total work force. It is because the government organisations have a stipulation to provide jobs on compensatory grounds. In 'mechanistic' organisations there was tremendous pressure on the management to provide jobs to the persons on compensatory grounds whose lands were acquired during the process of establishment of the organization. This finding was substantiated in the 'mechanistic' organizations when it was discovered that persons whose lands were acquired during the establishment of the organization were actually provided jobs on compensatory grounds. Incidentally, the persons thus recruited were mostly Brahmins and Rajputs from the high land owning classes. Because of their affluence and political contacts they got themselves compensated for their land by

Table 3 4 Caste Composition of the Respondents

N=150

Caste categories *	Frequency	Percentage
Hindus Low caste (Balmiki, Chamar, Dhobi, Kori, Pasí, Gaderia, Dom, Kevat)	55	37
Medium cast (Badhai, Yadava, Kurmi, Kumhar, Vishvakarma, Nai, Kushwaha)	38	25
High caste (Rajput, Kayastha, Khatri and Brahmin)	57	38
Total/ per centage	150	100 00

finding a job for themselves. Some other persons also, not falling under this category utilised their political contacts to get placement in those organizations. Only a small percentage of 25 per cent of the respondents belonged to the category of middle caste workers. High caste workers in 'mechanistic' organizations constituted 38 per cent only. Thus, we see that the situation in post independence India has improved considerably in the industrial sector. Irrespective of caste and creed, the industrial sector has been growing steadily.

Now here a pertinent question can be raised as to why the representation of high castes is greater than that of the medium or the low castes? In India, because of large scale unemployment and scant employment opportunities, the supply of labour force is higher than the demand. Under these conditions, the high caste groups who in majority of cases have some amount of landed property also, exercise their power to enter into the labour market. On the contrary, the low castes are eliminated from the industrial employment because they lack resources which are a result of their illiteracy.

and backwardness. Similar finding is reported by Harris (1982) who studied the south Indian labour market in Coimbatore. In our study the findings reveal that the percentage of low caste workers is comparatively higher in comparison to the workers of Ahmedabad industries. This study reports that inspite of their illiteracy and backwardness, the lower caste has been given enough opportunities to join the industrial employment (Lambert 1963)

3.2.4 Education Distribution

The organizations selected for the study used different types of technologies and a minimum standard of education for gaining entry into them. In the era of industrialization and globalization, education plays crucial role in occupational and social mobility. Education is a process of transmission of knowledge, socio-cultural heritage and social values. It is also a source of modernization and change. The findings of Lambert (1963) and Sharma (1979) state that the Indian Industrial worker has moved far ahead of the traditional times and can no longer be considered as static, stagnant and illiterate. Our findings also revealed similar type of results.

Table 3.5 Educational Level of the Respondents

N=150

Educational categories	Frequency	Percentage
Low (8 years of formal education)	66	44
Medium (more than 8 years but less than 12 years of formal edu)	56	37
High (more than 12 years of formal education)	28	19
Total /Percentage	150	100

From the table, it is evident that the per centage of respondents who had low education was 44 per cent which is closely followed by the percentage of the respondents having more than 8 years but less than 12 years of formal education. These respondents are put in the category of medium educated respondents and their per centage was 37. Finally the per centage of respondents who had obtained more than 12 years of education was 19 per cent and they were put in the category of highly educated respondents. With diversification of industries, using different types and levels of technology, a certain level of education is required in order to get recruited into an industry. Therefore, in our study we found that an overwhelming majority of respondents (82 per cent) had minimum of eight years of formal education in the 'mechanistic' organization. This reveals that none of the respondents was illiterate, which to some extent is a point worth noting. Many studies conducted in 1970's and 1980's have reported presence of large number of illiterate industrial workers (Sharan, 1978; Sharma, 1979).

3.2.5 Technical Education

This study reveals that a good number of industrial workers are technically educated too. Industry in modern India is in a position to employ educated members of the society. Some workers had received technical education of either certificate or diploma levels. The number of respondents who had obtained diploma was 31 per cent and that of certificate was 4 per cent. Apart from this 16 per cent of the respondents did apprenticeship and training. The details are evident from the table given below.

3.2.6 Income Distribution

Income is one of the very important socio-economic variables. It is the source of livelihood and subsistence for the human beings. It is a proximate factor of social influence and hence plays a crucial role in aspiration and life chances.

From the table it is evident that majority of respondents are in the middle income group. They constitute 47 per cent and their income range from Rs 2001 to 4000. It is

Table 3 6 Technical education of the respondents

N=150

Technical education	Frequency	Percentage
Apprentice	24	16
Diploma	47	31
Certificate	4	3
Other	2	1
No technical education	73	49
Total Percentage	150	100

Table 3 7 Income distribution of the respondents

N=150

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Low Income (Less than Rs 2000)	68	45
Medium Income (Rs 2001-4000)	71	47
High Income (Rs 4001 and above)	11	8
Total	150	100

followed by low income groups which constitute 45 per cent. In the low income group the income of the workers ranged below Rs 2000. The percentage of respondents belonging to high income group constitute only 8 per cent.

3.2.7 Occupational Distribution

From the table it is evident that the Manual workers constitute 40 per cent of total work force. These manual workers are having little or inadequate education and normally carry out non specialized tasks within the organization. Non Manual workers are those workers who have sufficient education and carry out specialized or semi specialized

Table 3 8 Occupational structure of the respondents

N=150

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Manual	60	40
Non Manual	90	60
Total	150	100

tasks within the organization Usually they have training regarding the job to which they are hired

3.2.8 Socio-Economic Status

After classifying the workers in two broad categories it becomes pertinent for us to make a SES category also The SES scale was prepared by taking five variables into account The details regarding the preparation of the scales have already been discussed in the Chapter Two

Table 3 9 SES of the respondents

N=150

SES Category	Frequency	Percentage
Low	48	32
Medium	43	29
High	59	39
Total	150	100

From the table above it can be inferred that 39 per cent respondents belonged to the high SES category followed by low SES which has 32 per cent Only 29 per cent respondents were found to have medium SES With the help of the above discussions it has become quite clear that the respondents had a varied background In terms of their age composition, caste, education, income and occupational background there

were significant differences which brought sharp and perceptible differences in their values and aspirations. These differences resulted in their varied life-chances and their mobility patterns. These aspects are discussed in detail in Chapter V and VI.

The following chapter presents the profile of 'Organic' type of organization along with the respondent's profile.

Chapter 4

Profile of Organic Type of Organization and Respondents' Socio Demographic Features

4.1 Organic Organizations Profile

In the previous chapter, we have discussed the profile of the 'mechanistic' type of organizations and the background of the respondents employed in them. In this chapter we shall be presenting the profile of the 'organic' organization along with the respondents' details. The indicators which have been used by Burns and Stalker in identifying the typologies of their organizations have already been discussed in chapter three. As seen earlier these indicators are

- 1 Nature of Environment
- 2 Nature of Organization
- 3 Nature of Authority
- 4 Communication Style
- 5 Nature of Commitment

Table 4 1 Profile of Organic Organizations

	Indicators	Organic Organizations
1	Nature of Environment	High degree of change thus dynamic Application of latest technological innovation Flexible rules Informal work-atmosphere
2	Organization of work	Work roles are changeable and are not defined in clear terms Organizations profit along with well being of the workers is the focal point Organizations goals are decided in a democratic manner Frequent change in assignments
3	Nature of Authority	Seniority is least important Competence and skills are crucial in determining the authority Friendly authorities
4	Communication	All pervasive lateral communication Flexible communications/instructions Participation of all employees is all solicited
5	Nature of Commitment	Full Commitment Not restricted to assigned jobs, rather full utilization of abilities and competence of employees Diligence and output are solicited High feeling of organizations well being and profit Accountability is for every employee engaged in production

Source Based on Burns and Stalker (1960)

4.1.1 Nature of Environment

In 'organic' organizations much importance is not given to formulation of rules and regulations for control. There are no rigid rules in the form of statutes. The atmosphere is casual, and operations are divided into minimum kind of management cadres (see table 4.1). In matter of crises, frequent meetings take place among various cadres of management and workers, for resolving them ignoring the hierarchical boundaries. Workers freely approach their bosses to discuss their operational problems. Thus the work environment is quite informal in 'organic' organizations. Management control is characterized by direct control where operations are divided into self dependent units under a sectional head. In these units, tasks are performed by individuals who are governed by flexible norms. Frequent changes among supervisors/managers are permitted easily if some needs arise. All these attributes suggest that work atmosphere in such organization is very informal and open, which results into bringing high degree of variation in operation. Since, the atmosphere is very casual and carefree the workers do not feel boredom, monotony and fatigue.

4.1.2 Nature of Organization

In the 'organic' organizations, work roles are not rigid. Because they are not defined in clear terms of hierarchical boundaries hence they are changeable (refer table 4.1). Organization's profit, welfare and well-being are the matter of concern for every employee. Necessary adjustments are made according to work requirement in order to attain the organizational objectives. These organizations make use of the latest technology and knowledge to optimize the profit of the organization.

4.1.3 Nature of Authority

According to authors, there are five types of work resting in the hands of authorities: they are directing, controlling, co-ordinating, innovation and planning (Burns and

Stalker 1994) The upper rungs of the hierarchy have to share and shoulder tremendous amount of responsibility for decision making They have to be well versed in all types of activities innovation, planning, co-ordination, controlling and directing However, innovations, planning and directions are in the hands of higher rungs of management and they cannot be performed by any other person, while co-ordination and control can be done with the help of the lower rung management In 'organic' organization there is minimum involvement of higher rung authorities in day to day operations In such organizations, years of experience do not have much importance However competence and efficient handling of inter-personal relations are more important The bosses are not domineering but are rather democratic and hence, they encourage participation of each and every staff in the process of control, planning, co-ordination direction and innovation Higher rung management is always easily accessible to their subordinates In nutshell, it can be said that in 'organic' organization, the nature of authority is decentralized and is based on inter-personal relations, efficiency and competence

4.1.4 Communication Style

In 'organic' organization communication springs by virtue of common interests among people of different rungs of hierarchy Common interests here can be defined as those interests which aim at strengthening organizational objectives work social and organizational relationships within the organization In order to attain those common interests sometimes authorities use informal channel of communication like grapevine etc for seeking the opinions of different persons Communication becomes more of informal kind and frequent consultation takes place among the officials of different cadres Grapevine is considered to be a powerful channel of communication and is supposedly all pervasive Communication in organic organization is all pervasive and democratic As a result information flows in each direction At times of crises and exigency, all the employees are taken into confidence to overcome the crises This facilitates participation of different rungs of personnel and workers

Keeping the above discussion in view it can be concluded that communication

channel in the 'organic' organizations is lateral and all pervasive. Organic organization wishes to promote a system of communication in which consultation and large scale deliberations are allowed. The differentiated style of communication presumably brings lots of impact on their productivity (Burns and Stalker 1994).

4.1.5 Nature of Commitment

It has been found that 'organic' organizations are informal in nature and are characterized by minimum hierarchical control and flexibility. The jobs are defined on the basis of competence and individual skills. All these factors result in attaching greater importance to egalitarian outlook, experience and skill. These attributes in the organic organization lead to full commitment among the employees as they get concerned with the organization's welfare and success. The employees do not restrict themselves to the assigned tasks only. Important tasks of the organization are carried out diligently and efficiently by the employees as high feeling of organization's well-being motivates them to be fully committed. This results in stronger feeling of accountability among them. We can conclude that 'organic' organizations are marked by full commitment of the employees, diligence and efficiency towards assigned duties and feeling of greater accountability towards the organization.

After having presented the characteristic features of the organic organizations, it will be interesting to find out whether the sample units could be placed in the organic organization. This can be done by presenting the profile of the organizations which were studied.

4.1.5.1 Organization One

Organization One was set up in the year 1977 and it became operative two years later. This organization was privately owned which was engaged in the production of fertilizers. It was situated approximately 30 kms away in the north of the holy city of Allahabad on the Allahabad-Gorakhpur highway. It employed 6500 persons. Ini-

tially the organization was spread over an area of 870 acres of land but later on after expansion it was extended further. The organization was mechanized and the entire operations were done by remote control. It was running in profit. It had an investment of 66 crores. For the welfare of the workers subsidized canteen & transport facilities, uniforms including woollen dresses, safety bonus, monetary awards and gift incentives to the employees attaining higher education were provided. Among other facilities vehicle allowance, festival advance, medical facilities, LTC, Consumer co-operative stores, lunch subsidy, shift allowance and death relief fund were provided to cater to the welfare schemes of the employees by the management. A fullfledged residential township with all basic infrastructure and facilities has been set up to accommodate the employees of the organization. The township has a shopping complex, health centre, kendriya vidyalaya, recreation club, and a guest house. The township was full of greenery. The organization provided all the modern facilities to the employees. Apart from all these the organization organized various cultural programmes including film shows for the entertainment of the employees.

4.1.5.2 Organization Two

Organization two was set up in the 1980's and was engaged in the manufacture of two wheeler automobiles. The unit was situated in Kanpur district of the U.P. All units in the organization were mechanized and were automatic. It was privately owned. Though set up in the year 1980, production started three years later in 1983. It manufactured mopeds and two wheelor scooters. It had an investment of 25 crores and approximately 850 persons were employed. The entire operations were done by remote control as the plant was mechanized. The management paid handsome salary to its employees. However, housing facility was not provided by the organization. In lieu of that a house rent allowance was given to all which compensated for the lack of housing. In other respects, all the facilities provided in organization one were provided in it also.

4 1 5 3 Organization Three

Organization Three was an Indo-German enterprise established in 1972 and was engaged in the manufacture of induction heating equipments. This organization had a financial-cum-technical collaboration with an internationally renowned German company. The production process in this organization started in 1974. This organization had a investment of 9.85 crore rupees. It had about 800 persons on its pay rolls.

In all the organizations mentioned above, formulation of rules and regulations for control was not much emphasized. As a result, the atmosphere was informal and operations in the organization were divided into minimal management cadres. At times of crises frequent meetings of various cadres of management and workers took place to resolve the crises. Workers approached their bosses freely to discuss their operational problems. Management control was of direct nature, where the operations were divided into independent units under a sectional head. Tasks in these units were performed by individuals who were guided by flexible norms. The work organization in all the organizations was informal and open, which infused high degree of dynamism in them. Additionally, work roles were not defined in clear terms of hierarchical boundaries. Organizations profit, welfare, and well being were the concern of each employee. As a result adequate adjustments were made according to work requirements in the organization to attain its objectives.

The pattern of authority in all the three organizations discussed above had minimal structure. For example, the involvement of top bosses in routine affairs was minimal. The managers were democratic, hence they encouraged participation of each and every employee in the process of control and co-ordination. The managers were always accessible to their subordinates. The structure of authority in these organizations was decentralized. An example can be cited to prove this point. It was observed in course of the field work that some workers were agitating on the issue of payment of bonus. Immediately the matter was reported to the departmental manager. He immediately came to the scene of action and announced additional payment as bonus to the workers. Of course this decision was later ratified by the board of directors. Thus immediate

decision and prompt action diffused a big crisis.

The communication pattern of these organizations was all pervasive and lateral which involved all officials. Communication was by and large of informal nature where many issues were decided in consultation. Grapevine is considered to be a powerful channel of communication which facilitates communication in all directions. Because of this grapevine, information flowed in all directions. Instructions issued in organizations were not rigid but were rather flexible.

In all the organizations discussed above, it was seen that employees worked with full commitment. The organizational well being was the prime concern of every individual, hence employees had a feeling of belongingness to the organization. This attitude facilitated flexibility in assigned jobs. The workers did not restrict themselves to assigned jobs only. Whatever they felt was important for the organization was carried out diligently and efficiently by them because feeling of high organizational profit and well-being motivated them. This resulted into a strong feeling of accountability among the employees of the aforesaid organizations. Thus it is evident that the organizations mentioned above, met most of the attributes of the organic organization as elucidated by Burns and Stalker and hence, they will be referred to as 'organic organizations'. After having presented the profile of the organizations it also becomes necessary to give a profile of the respondents, employed in the organic organization.

4.2 Socio Demographic Features of the Respondents

No study can be complete unless one is able to know the specific attributes of the population which one wants to study. As already mentioned the socio-demographic background plays a critical role in the life of an individual in the shaping and formation of his career. This statement is supported by citing the following lines of Benedict. Most people are plastic to the moulding force of the society into which they are born (Benedict). Fromm too has supported the statement of Benedict by stating that man's nature, his passion, and anxieties are a cultural product (Fromm 1947). Therefore it

is essential to pay greater attention to the background of the respondents. In order to understand the background of the respondents, the following aspects are chosen for greater elucidation:

- 1 Location (urban-rural)
- 2 Caste
- 3 Age
- 4 Education
- 5 Technical Education
- 6 Occupation
- 7 Income
- 8 SES categories

The demographic attributes are presented in the aspects mentioned above because these aspects help individuals in forming their groups. The purpose of this chapter is to acquaint the readers with the important socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents of the study.

4.2.1 Location Composition (Urban / Rural)

Studies conducted in India emphasize that persons came to city in search of employment from rural areas (Gadgil 1971). They were driven by the imbalances between man and natural resources. Noted historian Habib (1963) has pointed out that during British Rule people migrated from villages to big commercial centres. However, recent studies show that villagers are migrating from villages to even nearby urban industrial centres (Lambert 1963, Sharan 1978). To some extent this trend is visible among the respondents of this study too.

Table 4 2 Location Distribution of the respondents

N = 150

Native Place	Frequency	Percentage
Village	51	34
Town	12	8
City	87	58
Total	150	100

Analysis of data in table 4 2 shows that only 34 per cent of the respondents came from rural background and they still maintain a strong link with their villages. While around 66 per cent of the respondents came from urban units i.e. towns and cities and their percentage was 8 and 58 respectively. This indicates that majority of respondents come from urban centres. It is interesting to suggest that similar observations were made by various other studies (Gisbert 1972, Sharma 1979) conducted about three decades earlier. This trend which started setting in the early period of post-independence era due to paucity of employment in rural areas is still continuing in more vigorous manner (Gadgil 1971, Sheth 1968, Sharma 1974).

4.2.2 Age Composition

Table 4 3 Age Distribution of the Respondents

N = 150

Age	Frequency	Percentage
Young (21 to 35)	98	65
Middle (36 to 50)	39	26
Old (51 to 60)	13	9
Total	150	100

The age of the respondents as suggested in table 4.3 reveals a wide range of age starting from 21 to 60 years. The various age groups have been classified into three categories i.e. young age from 21 to 35 years, middle age from 36 to 50 years and old age from 51 to 60 years. No respondents were found to be below the age of 21 years or above the age of 60 years. Table 4.3 reveals that more than 65 per cent of the respondents belong to the young age category of 21-35 years. While 26 per cent of the respondents are in the middle age group i.e. 36 years to 50 years and only 9 per cent of the respondents are in the old age category i.e. 51 years to 60 years. Thus the table suggests that an overwhelming majority of respondents are in the young or middle age categories (see table 4.3). The table further reveals that by and large the average industrial workers age is 34.5 years which also confirms the findings of other reported studies. For example, Lambert (1963) who studied the industrial workers of Ahmedabad had reported the average age of his respondents as 32.4 years. Similar findings were also reported by Sharan (1978) and Sharma (1979). The average age of their respondents was roughly 33 years. Therefore, it may thus be concluded that the age composition of the workforce has not changed much over the period. It is interesting to point out that even regional variation has also not shown any impact on the age profile of industrial workers.

4.2.3 Caste Composition

After a close perusal of literature, we can infer that caste in India affected the supply of labour in the early period of industrialization. Lambert (1963) Sharma (1974) Rao (1972) concluded that different caste group workers were found in the industrial labour force. Caste groups of India are considered to be endogamous group having strict rules of interdining. We have combined various castes depending upon their ranking in the census as one group in this study. In the grouping Balmiki, Chamari, Dhobi, Kori, Gaderia, Dom, Kevat and Pasi have been grouped under the category of low the caste people. Badhai, Yadav, Kurmi, Kushwaha, Nai, Vishvakarma and Kumhar have been put in the category of medium caste. Likewise Rajput, Chauhan, Baniya, Kayastha,

Khatri and Brahmin have been put together in the category of high caste

Table 4.4 Caste Composition of the Respondents

N = 150

Caste categories *	Frequency	Percentage
Hindus Low caste (Balmiki, Chamar, Dhobi, Kori, Pasl, Gaderia, Dom, Kevat)	58	39
Medium caste (Badhai, Yadav, Kurmi, Kumahar, Vishvakarma, Nai, Kushwaha)	27	18
High caste (Rajput, Chauhan, Kayastha, Khatri and Brahmin)	65	43
Total/ percentage	150	100

The table shows that the high caste comprised 43 per cent of the total work force. The main reason for it is that in 'organic' organizations the non manual category of respondents comprised a sizeable number. The high caste people have access to all sorts of facilities in their life and are exposed to different life-chances. They are better educated and well placed in occupational category compared to their counterparts i.e. manual workers. As a result representation of high caste was very high in the organic organization. The organic organizations attach premium to the skills and competence of an individual. For them caste considerations are of trivial importance. Anyone who fits their criteria of competence is hired. Medium caste work force has a representation of 18 per cent and that of low caste was 39 per cent.

Now here a pertinent question can be raised as to why the representation of high castes is greater than the medium or the low castes? In India, because of large scale

unemployment and meagre employment opportunities, the supply of labour force is higher than the demand. Under these conditions, the high caste groups who have some amount of landed property, exercise their power to enter in the labour market. On the contrary, the low castes are eliminated from the industrial employment because they lack resources which result in their illiteracy and backwardness. Similar finding is reported by Harris (1982) who studied the south Indian labour market of Coimbatore.

From the statements mentioned above, it can be said that the representation of low caste groups in industrial employment is relatively low as compared to the high caste.

4.2.4 Education Distribution

The organizations selected for the study used different types of technologies and a minimum standard of education for the employees for gaining entry into them. In the era of industrialization and globalization, education plays crucial role in occupational and social mobility. Education is a process of transmission of knowledge, social heritage and social values. It is also a source of modernization and change. The findings of Lambert (1963), Sharma (1979) state that the Indian Industrial worker has moved far ahead of traditional times and can no longer be considered as illiterate. Our study has also revealed similar type of results.

From the above table it is evident that the percentage of respondents having low education is 39 per cent. Respondents who have more than 8 years but less than 12 years of education were put in the category of medium educated respondents and their percentage is 45 per cent. Finally the percentage of respondents who have obtained more than 12 years of education is 16 per cent and they are put in the category of highly educated respondents.

Table 4 5 Education Distribution of the Respondents

N = 150

educational categories	frequency	percentage
Low (8 years of formal education)	58	39
Medium (more than 8 years but less than 12 years of formal edu)	67	45
High (more than 12 years of formal education)	25	16
Total /Percentage	150	100

4.2.5 Technical Education

This study reveals that a good number of industrial workers are educated. Industry in modern India is in a position to employ educated members of the society. In organic organizations it is found that a sizeable number of respondents had obtained some technical training or the other. As is evident from the table, 40 per cent respondents had apprentice training in the organic organizations. Another 33 per cent respondents had obtained diploma in some trade or the other which provided them an opportunity to increase their saleability. Apart from these categories another 21 per cent respondents had obtained certificate training in the form of short term training for getting acquainted with the operative knowledge of the trade concerned. Only a meager 5 percent respondents had not received any technical education, either in the form of certificate or diploma courses. Details are evident from the table given below.

Table 4 6 Technical Education of the Respondents

N = 150

Technical education	Frequency	Percentage
Apprentice	60	40
Diploma	50	34
Certificate	33	21
Other	0	0
No technical education	7	5
Total Percentage	150	100

4.2.6 Income Distribution

Income is one of the very important socio-economic variables. It is the source of survival for the human beings. It is a proximate factor of social influence and hence plays a crucial role in aspiration and life chances. From the table it is evident

Table 4 7 Income Distribution of the respondents

N = 150

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Low Income (Less than Rs 2000)	45	30
Medium Income (Rs 2001-4000)	84	56
High Income (Rs 4001 and above)	21	14
Total	150	100

that majority of respondents are in the middle income group. Their percentage is 56 per cent and their income range from Rs 2001 to 4000. It is followed by low income groups which constitute 30 per cent. The percentage of respondents belonging to high income group is only 14 per cent.

4.2.7 Occupational Distribution

Manual workers are those workers who have little education and usually carry out non specialized tasks in the organization. Whereas the non manual workers are those workers who are assigned responsible duties in the organization. Usually before being absorbed in the job and assigned independent duties, they are given specialized training related to the job so that they carry out the assignment responsibly. They have sufficient education and usually have some specialized technical qualification which is considered to be an essential prerequisite for their job. The classification of workers in Manual and Non Manual categories is presented in the table presented below. This classification of occupations is based on operations of the workers i.e. manual and non manual operations.

Table 4.8 Occupational Distribution of the Respondents

N = 150

Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Manual	40	47
Non-Manual	60	53
Total/ percentage	150	100

4.2.8 Socio-Economic Status

After classifying the workers in two broad categories it becomes pertinent for us to make a SES category also. The SES scale was prepared by taking five variables into account. The details regarding the preparation of the scales have already been discussed in Chapter Two.

From the above table it can be inferred that 45 per cent of the respondents belonged to the high SES category followed by low SES which is having 37 per cent. The respondents having medium SES is 19 per cent. With the help of the above discussions it has become quite clear that the respondents had a varied background. In

Table 4 9 SES of the Respondents

N = 150

SES Category	Frequency	Percentage
Low	55	37
Medium	28	19
High	67	45
Total	150	100

terms of their age composition, caste, education, income, occupational background and family background there were significant differences which brought sharp and visible differences in their values and aspirations. These differences resulted in their varied life-chances and their mobility patterns. These aspects are discussed in detail in Chapter V and VI.

Having discussed the social characteristics of the sample, two important questions need to be pursued:

1. Taking the data on education, income, occupation, caste background, what differences are to be found in the manual and non manual workers employed in the 'mechanistic' and 'organic' organizations?
2. Do the industrial organizations pave way to the mobility of their employees? Whether, the issue of life-chances as elaborated by Max Weber has any relevance for the industrial setting in India also needs adequate examination.

Probing these questions became necessary as we had assumed and hypothesised significant differences in the SES of the industrial workers who had been broadly categorized in two categories of Manual and Non Manual workers. Furthermore we also wanted to ascertain whether there was a positive relationship between the socio-economic status of the respondents and their age, income, family background, educational background etc. The SES scale was prepared by taking four variables into account. The details regarding the preparation of the SES scale have already been discussed in Chapter

Two After having a close perusal of the above tables it can be concluded that the respondents had a varied background. They come from different socio-economic background. As a result of their varied background, they had different aspirational levels and motivations. These issues have been detailed out in the forthcoming chapters.

Chapter 5

Job Satisfaction And Commitment of Industrial Workers

In the previous chapters, we have presented the profile of the organizations and the socio-demographic profile of the respondents to acquaint ourselves with the composition and characteristic features of the respondents (Industrial Workers). The aim of this chapter, is to find out the extent of commitment and career aspiration among the respondents. Many studies have shown linkages between commitment, satisfaction and career orientation of workers (Gisbert 1972, Sharma 1974, Ramaswamy 1977) which in turn denotes the aspect of life-chances.

As mentioned in the dissertation elsewhere (vide Chapter II) the respondents have been divided in two broad categories i.e. manual and non manual. This categorization has been made on the basis of work which they are engaged in. The study also assumes some differences among the varied group of respondents belonging to mechanistic and 'organic' types of organizations. To examine whether the differences are emerging due to nature of work, such as manual or non manual occupations or due to nature of organizations viz. mechanistic or organic will be interesting to note.

While dealing with the above mentioned aspects, it becomes important to examine the work atmosphere which the respondents are placed in. In order to present a comprehensive comparison, we took into account only those aspects of working conditions,

in which we anticipated meaningful differences among the respondents of different work organizations. Thus, we arrived at the following three aspects of work atmosphere

- The Recruitment Procedures,
- Working Conditions (wages, leave, bonus, promotional avenues, job security, safety in jobs and physical conditions of work etc.) and
- Attitude of workers towards their jobs and willingness to continue with their vocation

5.1 Recruitment Procedures

There are several ways of recruiting workers in work organization. Previously, the middlemen or jobbers lured their acquaintances from far off places to the work places. Of late, the trend of obtaining jobs by official channels and procedures such as advertisement, employment exchange etc. is in vogue. Help from acquaintances already employed in getting a job is in practice too. In the Indian psyche and tradition, feelings of trust, sympathy and help towards one's friends and relatives are deep rooted. They have attracted people from a particular region and caste in extending/soliciting support in the procurement of job. This has resulted in near monopolistic concentration of people from a particular region or a particular caste in a work organization (Ghurye 1961, Sharma 1974, Sharan 1978). The recruitment pattern for hiring the employees makes an interesting and revealing comparison.

Table 5.1 reveals the three kinds of procedures adopted for hiring the workers in their respective organizations. The last column of Table 5.1 figures an overwhelming majority of 62 per cent respondents, who have been recruited through advertisement process. It implies that they procured their jobs on merit and competence. While 30 per cent respondents had secured their jobs with the help of contact agents like friends and relatives. The remaining 8 per cent are hired through the employment

Table 5 1 Recruitment Pattern of the Respondents in Mechanistic and Organic Organizations

N=300

Recruitment Procedures	Types of Organization						GTotal
	Mechanistic (In Percent)			Organic (In Percent)			
	Manual	NonManual	Total	Manual	NonManual	Total	
Through employment exchange	6	2	8	6	1	7	8
Through contacts (friends, relatives and kinsmen)	6	14	20	22	19	41	30
Through advertisement	28	44	72	30	22	52	62
Total	40	60	100	58	42	100	100

exchanges The responses of manual and non manual workers also present some interesting features For example, in 'mechanistic' organizations 72 per cent respondents are recruited through newspaper advertisement, while in 'organic' organizations the percentage of respondents getting recruited through advertisement was quite low i.e. only 52 per cent Interesting commonality has been noticed among the respondents recruited through Employment Exchange Data shows that in both the organizations very few employees have been recruited through this process (see Table 5 1)

As per the policy of the Government of India, organizations are to make wide circulation of existing vacancies of their organizations As a result, management of the organizations advertise the vacancies in local and national dailies /newspapers The vacancies are thus easily brought to the notice of the interested persons and they can approach the desired places of work very easily Thus the advertisement procedure is the most frequently used method in recruiting the employees In the employment

exchange, not all the persons can approach there for assistance, because they require certain formalities like pre-registration of candidate. The procedure of pre-registration is cumbersome because some fees is charged. A common man cannot afford to spend this amount of fees before getting a job. It is pertinent to mention here that the network of Employment Exchanges throughout the country is done to help the trained and qualified persons in finding a suitable placement. At the same time, they are entrusted with the role of monitoring and streamlining the recruitment process in the country. The respondents on enquiry informed that the procurement of jobs through Employment Exchange was not an easy proposition. The employment exchanges have off late become corrupt. Because of the corruption and scarcity of opportunities, the possibility of getting placement has shrunk considerably. As a result, they are unable to get placement with the help of Employment Exchange. Respondents further said that they had to wait for a long time even after registering themselves in an Employment Exchange. By and large, the aforesaid facts get reflected in the frequency percentage of table 5.1. For example, only 8 per cent respondents maintained that they procured their placement through employment exchange as compared to 62 per cent who got their jobs through newspaper advertisement.

From the figures presented in table 5.1 it becomes clear that merit and competence play a crucial role in the hiring of respondents in the present situation. The other procedures of recruitment are not to be undermined. Pull factors or personal ties too helped an individual in procuring a job. Earlier, the employers preferred the option of reference contacts for recruitment because it ensured loyalty to the management and assured control over them (Sharan 1978). Only those persons who had someone known to them already employed in the factories were hired factories. However, this is not in practice in the changed social scenario. Our queries revealed that primordial connections like village ties, kinship ties, caste affiliations etc. did play important role in the recruitment process of industrial workers.

To sum up, it can be said that the following factors influenced the recruitment aspect of the respondents of the present study.

- 1 Merit, competence and experience of the incumbent,
- 2 Primordial considerations like village ties, kinship bonds, caste affiliations family ties etc
- 3 Personal acquaintances with the employees/employers,
4. Employment exchange (the least adopted method)

5.2 Working Conditions

Many studies conducted on the working conditions of the industrial workers have paid attention to some aspects of work like wage perquisites, relationship with colleagues, benefits, social and physical conditions at work etc (Gupta 1982.) Therefore we have studied following aspects of the working conditions of our respondents

- 1 Wages
- 2 Benefits
- 3 Nature of job
- 4 Promotional chances
- 5 Psychosomatic impact of job

5.2.1 Wages

Table 5.2 reveals that a simple majority of respondents i.e 52 per cent belonged to the middle income category and thus earned a salary ranging from Rs 2001 to Rs 4000/= per month. While 38 per cent respondents received a salary of Rs 1500/= to Rs 2000/= per month. They are bracketed in the low income category. Only a small percentage i.e 10 per cent of respondents received a salary of Rs 4001/= to Rs

6500/= per month and thus they are bracketed in the high income category. A closer look at table 5.2 further reveals

Table 5.2 Wage Structure of the Respondents belonging to Mechanistic and Organic Organizations

N=300

Wage categories	Types of Organization						Grand Total
	Mechanistic (In Percent)			Organic (In Percent)			
	Manual	Non Manual	Total	Manual	Non Manual	Total	
Low (Less than Rs 2000)	40	5	45	28	2	30	38
Medium (Rs 2001-4000)	-	47	47	25	31	56	52
High (Rs 4001-6500)	-	8	8	-	14	14	10
Total	40	60	100	53	47	100	100

that 14 per cent non manual workers of 'organic' organization drew a salary of more than Rs 4000/= per month, while in 'mechanistic' organization only 8 per cent had a salary beyond Rs 4000/= per month. This clearly shows that wage pattern was quite different in both the organizations. 56 per cent respondents of organic organization drew a salary ranging from Rs 2001/= to 4000/= per month whereas in 'mechanistic' organization the percentage was only 47 per cent. In the low wage category of Rs 1500/= to 2000/=: 45 per cent respondents of 'mechanistic' organization are placed in, whereas their percentage ratio was much lower (only 30 per cent) from the 'organic' organization (vide table 5.2). The table reveals wide wage differences between the manual and non manual workers in 'mechanistic' and organic organizations. It is interesting to mention here that none of the manual respondents belonged to the high income group of Rs 4001 to Rs 6500 in both the organizations. This seemed to

well being

5.2.3 Nature of Job

No study of industrial workers would be complete unless it examines the extent of job liking and satisfaction. Job liking is a term indicating the stability and security of job. In order to examine worker's liking for the present job we asked a straightforward question from the respondents - 'whether they would prefer continuing in the present job' given the facilities, work culture, environment, safety and security. The response pattern of the respondents is presented in table 5.3

Table 5.3 Respondents Willingness to Continue with the present job

N=300

Willingness to continue	Types of Organization						Grand Total
	Mechanistic (In Percent)			Organic (In Percent)			
	Manual	Non Manual	Total	Manual	Non Manual	Total	
Would continue	39	57	96	50	46	96	96
Would discontinue	1	3	4	3	1	4	4
Total	40	60	100	53	47	100	100

Table 5.3 shows respondents liking for the present job. An overwhelming majority of the respondents replied in affirmation and expressed their desire to continue in their present jobs. Only a meagre 4 per cent responded in giving their answer in negative mode. They expressed their desire to give up or discontinue their present job. Those who responded in affirmation reported on further probing that they wanted to continue with their present jobs because they hailed from the neighbouring areas. In addition

to the geographical proximity factor, the better work atmosphere was an important reason for making the preference. In 'organic' type of organization the percentage of manual workers preferring to continue with their present jobs was much higher i.e. 50 per cent in comparison to those in 'mechanistic' type of organizations (39 per cent). The percentage of non-manual workers was 46 per cent in 'organic' organizations in comparison to 57 per cent in 'mechanistic' organization. The respondents who expressed their desire to discontinue with the present jobs are mainly those persons who came from non Hindi background. They came from far off places like South India particularly from Tamilnadu and Kerala and thus answered in negation. They could not adjust themselves completely in the changed socio-cultural set-up. Secondly some respondents wanted to give up their existing job because of their high education and high aspirations.

On informal chat with the respondents, some who hailed from non Hindi speaking areas reported their homesickness. Those respondents could not assimilate themselves in the changed cultural environment and therefore, felt alienated. On further probing they informed that all the above factors compelled them of taking a job close to their native places. However some gave entirely different reasons which in some cases was purely personal. We asked the respondents about the reasons for their continuance in the present job. The answer pattern is explained in Table 5.4 which is presented underneath.

From table 5.4 it can be inferred that in 'organic' organizations 37 per cent of the respondents reportedly wanted to stay in the present job because of the variation in the nature of job. Their job routine was not monotonous. In the same organization it was found that another 35 per cent of the respondents stay back because of the available promotional avenues. 10 per cent of the respondents cited security of service to be the factor of holding them fast to the present job. Good wages, work environment and facilities in job are the other reasons which held the respondents stationed in the job. The percentage of such cases was 7, 6 and 5 per cent respectively. In the 'mechanistic' organizations 44 per cent of the respondents favoured security of tenure in the job and

Table 5 4 Respondent's Reasons for Continuing with the Present Job

N=300

Reasons	Mechanistic (In Percent)	Organic (In Percent)
Security in Service	44	10
Work Environment	17	6
Job Variation Job	17	37
Facility in Job	16	5
Promotional Avenues	6	35
Good Wages	- -	7
Total	100	100

cited it as the main cause for staying in the present job 17 per cent of the respondents favoured the working environment and variation in job as the motivating factor to stay back Facilities in job and promotional avenues was also considered a motivating factor by 16 per cent and 6 per cent of the respondents to hold on to their present positions

5.2.4 Promotional Benefits

Table 5 5 reveals the respondents colleagues reaction on their promotion As is evident from the table 5 5, 53 6 percent respondents in the mechanistic type of organizations showed happiness on their colleagues promotion whereas in the organic organization their percentage was 41 percent 32 per cent respondents in mechanistic and 14 percent

respondents in organic organizations said that they would

Table 5 5 Respondent's Reaction on their Colleagues Promotion In Mechanistic and Organic Type of Organization

N=300

Reaction	Types of Organization					
	Mechanistic (In Percent)			Organic (In Percent)		
	Manual	Non Manual	Total	Manual	Non Manual	Total
Jealous	1 3	0	1 3	0 6	0	0 6
Happy	22 6	31	53 6	23	19	41
Proud	2	11	13	15	6	21
Respectful	14	18	32	8	6	14
Can,t Tell	0	3	3	7	15 4	22 4
Total	47	53	100	40	60	100

respect their promoted colleagues. In the similar vein, 13 and 21 percent respondents in mechanistic and organic organizations mentioned that they would have a feeling of pride on their colleagues' performance. While 1 per cent respondents did not hide their negative feelings and mentioned jealousy on their colleagues' promotion, 12 per cent respondents evaded the answer about their colleagues' achievements. These findings are confirmed by the responses given on the question of showing happiness in the event of getting promotions.

5.2.5 Psychosomatic Impact of the Job

To examine the psychosomatic impact of the job, it becomes essential for us to examine the stress at work. Job satisfaction is also judged by the answer pattern of the

respondents in relation to the stress at work

Table 5 6 Respondents reaction to their Work Assigned in Mechanistic and Organic Organization

N=300

Nature of Stress	Types of Organization						Grand Total
	Mechanistic (In Percent)			Organic (In percent)			
	Manual	Non Manual	Total	Manual	Non Manual	Total	
Physical	27	47	74	53	40	93	83
Mental	13	13	26	1	6	7	17
Total	40	60	100	54	46	100	100

The above table 5 6 presents data on the stress pattern of the respondents at the work place. The table reveals that 83 per cent respondents reported physical tiredness whereas only 17 per cent reported mental tiredness. A closer analysis of the table reveals that 53 per cent respondents of the 'organic' organization working as manual workers and 40 per cent respondents in the non manual category reported getting physical stress from their jobs. On the contrary, in mechanistic organization a heterogeneous trend is discernible. The 27 per cent respondents working as manual workers reported that their job brought physical stress. In the similar way 47 per cent of non manual workers in the same type of organizations also reported physical pressure from their jobs. In contrast 1 and 6 per cent of manual and non manual respondents respectively of 'organic' organization and 13 per cent each working as the manual and non manual workers of mechanistic organization reported their jobs to be mentally stressful.

In answer to the question as to the cause of physical stress, the respondents revealed that their working hours almost always exceeded eight hours a day. Often they were required to keep on moving, attending to several jobs at the same time. This as

a matter of fact, often rendered their work far more strenuous than it really was. At some organizations of 'organic' type, the researcher noticed that the work place of the manual workers was too crowded and the space was inadequate to hold them together. The cumulative effect of overcrowding, changing of jobs, paying simultaneous attention on variety of jobs had rendered the work unpleasant which further led to certain amount of stress in their job. It is on account of it a proportionately large percentage of respondents i.e. 53 per cent of the category of manual workers in 'organic' organizations informed that their job was physically tiring. In 'mechanistic' organization the percentage of respondents was smaller whose job was physically less tiring.

5.3 Attitude of Workers Towards their Jobs

On the basis of the indicators detailed above, we have tried to judge the attitude of workers towards their jobs. These attitudes are presented to judge the satisfaction and commitment of the workers.

5.3.1 Job Satisfaction

In the process of production, each worker is assigned a specific job. The work is performed under the total supervision of the management of the organization. Many a times a sizeable number of workers perform their job mechanically because of various reasons. One of the common placed reasons is that they do not enjoy their work. Either because of lack of monetary incentives, or due to lack of integration with the industrial place, they feel alienated. This affects their performance in the organization. That is why in every good organization, the management ensures to provide good welfare schemes for the employees so that they feel comfortable and all their anxieties are taken care of. A committed labour force needs good relationships at work, familial attachments and adjustment in both the working and social environment (Hoselitz 1960). Job satisfaction is a dynamic concept. It is influenced by various factors including job situation and personal attributes of the employees. Persons feelings of satisfaction on

the job acts as a motivation to work more efficiently. It is generally believed that job satisfaction determines job commitment. Job satisfaction is reflected in the attitude people hold towards job that inculcates 'positive attitude' towards job and connotes satisfaction and negative attitude vice versa.

Job satisfaction depends on the favourable or unfavourable disposition of the employees with which they view their work. It expresses the amount of congruence between one's expectation from the job and the rewards that the job provides (Davis 1967). Thus job satisfaction can be defined as the result of various attitudes of the employees. These attitudes are related to the job and on their basis job satisfaction is achieved. Until recently, industrial work was dehumanized. Due to advancement in technology, most of the jobs got standardized or simplified. As a result of it human beings suffered genuine deprivations from work which reduced their personal involvement to a single set of routinized movements. As a result industrial workers are thoroughly dissatisfied and alienated.

From the table it can be inferred that the workers in the 'mechanistic' organization who fell in the category of fully satisfied was comparatively less than the workers in the organic organizations. Their percentage was 23 and 26 per cent respectively. Number of workers in the satisfied category was higher in the mechanistic organization than that of the 'organic' organization. The percentage of satisfied workers was 73 per cent in mechanistic organization and 59 per cent in organic organizations. Similarly there was striking difference in the percentage of workers in the dissatisfied category. In the mechanistic organization it is a meagre 4 per cent whereas in organic organization it was 15 per cent. From this table it can be inferred that workers in the mechanistic organization are by and large more satisfied in comparison to their counterparts in the organic organizations. The primary reason for this striking difference was due to the difference in the job security and the welfare programmes offered by the organization. Though the pay package in the organic organization was higher in comparison to that in the mechanistic organization, the security and the welfare scheme are not identical.

The respondents in the organic organization informed on enquiry that the welfare

Table 5 7 Job Satisfaction among the respondents belonging to Mechanistic and Organic Organizations

N=300

Satisfaction Category	Types of Organization					
	Mechanistic			Organic		
	Manual	Non Manual	Percent	Manual	Non Manual	Percent
Dissatisfied	0	6	(4)	13	10	(15)
Partially satisfied	50	59	(73)	44	44	(59)
Fully Satisfied	10	25	(23)	23	16	(26)
Total	60	90	(100)	80	70	(100)

(Figures presented in parenthesis is denoting per centage)

schemes were not satisfactory. Only their pay package was better. Moreover, the management of the mechanistic organization took keen interest in the overall development of the organization. These led to the disparity of satisfaction level. It was surprising to find out that the respondents of the mechanistic organization are quite satisfied with their jobs, yet the commitment was comparatively lesser in comparison to the respondents of the organic organization. The primary reason attributed to this factor was the better job security of mechanistic organizations. Once recruited, the chances of getting terminated or retrenched are practically nil. Even after retirement, the provision for pension and provident fund made them financially more secure, comfortable at work and tension free. On the contrary, in organic organizations, there was constant fear of getting laid off on the grounds of incompetence and carelessness.

In organic organization, there was no provision for pension. On this issue, the respondents are unhappy. Those who are on the verge of retirement are more con-

cerned about their future financial and social security. As a result of these factors, the respondents of mechanistic organization are found to be more satisfied with their job in comparison to their counterparts in the organic organization. It is important to mention here that the respondents of satisfied category are by and large those persons, who procured their jobs on compensatory grounds. For them, proximity to native place and familial attachment was of prime consideration. The challenge and career aspiration was missing in them. On enquiry, the respondents of mechanistic organization informed that because of the job security, proximity to native place, amenable atmosphere and tension free job, they wanted to continue with the present job. On the contrary, in the organic organization it was discovered that the respondents are by and large dissatisfied. On enquiry, the respondents said that their outlook and preferences are primarily determined by perceived monetary gains, promotions and supplementary benefits. Because of better education, qualification and exposure, they had no inhibition in hopping the job. All the aspects narrated above, point out that respondents in mechanistic organization are more satisfied with their jobs than their counterparts in organic organization.

5.3.2 Commitment

The concept of commitment provides a useful link between the process of recruitment and the choice of occupation. The process of commitment has been analyzed (Elliot 1972) through which particular attributes of individuals from varied social background are attracted to different occupations. Specialized training and education favourably predisposes a person to enter a specific type of work which has been termed as 'commitment'.

Commitment is considered to be an important ingredient for productive work performance in an organization. The problem of adjustment and incompatibility between demands and expectations is a ubiquitous one. Commitment to work is a process which has an important bearing on individual performance and social obligations. Every organization has devised means to demand commitment from its employees and

uses several means like persuasion, punishments, rewards, incentives etc. to elicit commitment. Clark Kerr (1960) was also concerned with the problem of commitment of industrial work force. He said 'once recruited, the worker may reflect different stages of commitment on the continuum of behavioral changes which mark the transition of the worker from traditional way of life to an industrial way of life'. Kerr suggested four stages of commitment:

1. The uncommitted Worker
2. The Semi committed Worker
3. The generally committed worker
4. The specifically or over committed worker

Commitment of workers in Indian industries has been explained by means of a theory of push and pull factors (Myers 1960). Lack of gainful employment, poor economic and social conditions forced people to move towards industrial employment. In the early sixties a systematic and planned industrial development opened new vistas for employment. The third five year Plan was termed as the take off period of Indian economy. Studies conducted by Lambert (1963), Vaid (1968) and Sharma (1974) conclude that commitment affected by the pull factors played a crucial role in the industrial setting, particularly in the spheres of recruitment and commitment to job. Contrary to the findings of Sharma, Vaid (1968), Lambert (1963), Sheth (1977) have come to the conclusion that orientation and commitment of the employees towards their work is the result of their working situation. These orientations are made of external elements such as tradition, interests, socialization, habits, etc. which operate outside the work place. Goldthorpe's study was conducted in Luton in United Kingdom. They further opined that the external elements mould the world view of an individual and any clash with them results in strains thus leading to conflict (Goldthorpe 1968).

Job commitment can be defined as a feeling of obligation to follow a particular course of action or to seek a particular goal. Moore (1948) defined job commitment as

a process which linked a person to a favourable position in a social system to the extent that the job-position provided him a net balance of rewards over costs (Moore 1960). In the present day context, it is observed that increased mechanization has resulted into routinization and monotony of the job supplemented with bleak future prospects.

5.3.2.1 Measurement of Commitment

The present study wishes to examine the relationship between the aspect of 'commitment' and upward mobility among the industrial workers. For examining the extent of the impact of commitment, it became essential to develop a measurement using some questions of the schedule which point towards the aspect of commitment. A scale of commitment was thus prepared on the basis of the response pattern on the following questions:

1. Present Jobs liking
2. Continuation in the present job
3. Job Satisfaction
4. Priorities if the present job was left
5. Opinion if an identical job was offered at a distant place with a raise in the salary

For each of these questions zero point was assigned for negative response and one point was assigned for each positive response. The total score ranged from 0-5. Those who secured upto 1 point were placed in the category of 'reluctant', those who secured between 2-3 points were placed in the category of 'devoted' and the respondents who secured between 4-5 points were placed in the category of 'consecrated' workers. Thus, the scale of commitment was prepared which was divided into three categories of workers -reluctant, devoted and consecrated. The respondents of the different types of organization were judged for their commitment using these three categories of reluctance, devotion and consecration to job.

Table 5.8 Extent of Commitment among respondents of Mechanistic and Organic Type of Organizations

N=300

Commitment category	Work Organization		Total
	Mechanistic	Organic	
Reluctant	76	40	116 (38.7)
Devoted	74	93	167 (55.7)
Consecrated	0	17	17 (5.7)
Total	150	150	300 (100)

$$\chi^2 = 30.33, \text{ df} = 2, P < 0.001$$

A close perusal of table 5.8 reveals that the frequency of reluctant workers found in 'organic' organization is less in comparison to those in 'mechanistic' organizations. In 'organic' organization their frequency is 40 whereas in the mechanistic organization their frequency is 76. There was striking difference in the category of devoted workers in those organizations. The frequency of devoted workers in the organic organization is 93 which was comparatively less in mechanistic organization. In Mechanistic organization the frequency of devoted workers is only 74. In the category of consecrated workers i.e. those workers who considered their job as worship the workers of the 'organic' organization are far ahead of their contemporary workers in the 'organic' organizations. In the 'organic' organization, the frequency of those workers is 17 whereas in 'mechanistic' organization their frequency is null. The statistical results are a testimony to the hypothesis that workers of the organic organizations are more committed ($\chi^2 = 30.33$, $\text{df} = 2$, $P < 0.001$).

5.4 Conclusion

To conclude it can be said that the respondents in the organic organization are by and large satisfied with their jobs. They were willing to continue in their present jobs. It was found that the respondents of satisfied category are mostly those who got their jobs on compensatory grounds. Those respondents who hailed from far off places expressed their dissatisfaction not in terms of job but in terms of cultural alienation and homesickness. They came from far places like South India particularly from Tamilnadu and Kerala and thus expressed their dissatisfaction. These respondents could not adapt themselves to the changed cultural environment and therefore, they felt alienated. In the organic organization the respondents felt more committed to their jobs because of the promotional avenues available in the job. Moreover, the security of service on the job also provided an impetus for them to stay committed to their jobs. Whereas in mechanistic organization most of the respondents cited security of service to be the prime reason to stay in job. For them job-satisfaction or commitment was of not much importance. Moreover, the respondents of the organic organization had variation in jobs which was not the case in the mechanistic organization. The respondents of the mechanistic organization paid more attention on the facilities in the job. Owing to these reasons it can be said that the respondents of the mechanistic organization were comparatively less committed than their counterparts of the organic organization.

Chapter 6

Trends of Mobility Among Industrial Workers

In the previous chapter, we have presented the job satisfaction and commitment of the industrial workers. The main objective of this chapter is to examine the aspect of mobility observed among the respondents of the study. The issue of mobility has attracted the attention of large number of scholars in India and abroad (Bottomore 1966, Glass 1967, Goldthorpe 1968, Vaid 1968, Sharma 1974). In their opinion, mobility has been viewed as an instrumental factor in developing new kinds of class composition in industrial setting, due to the impact of work relation and work organization (Chhiber 1968). In India, since the post independence period, many sociologists have studied social mobility more intensively than they have studied the changes within class themselves and have attributed more importance to it as a solvent of class-divisions. The findings of those studies may be summarized in the following way:

1. Social mobility has generally increased with the greater inflow of income and occupation.
2. Most often, mobility is linked with individuals' own drives, urges and motivation, hence, it is observed into some specific persons or groups only.

- 3 With relation to classes, it is observed that social mobility is taking place between social levels which are close together, for example, between the upper levels of the working class and the lower levels of the middle class

Movement from the working class into the upper class is very restricted and limited in all contemporary societies. These characteristics can be shown more clearly by studies of recruitment to particular elite occupations such as civil services, medical services, technical services etc. In Britain, a study of the directors of business corporations reveals that more than 50 per cent of them began their careers with the advantage of having business connections in the family. Another study of civil servants shows that almost 50 per cent of them came from the families of the upper and upper middle class while only 3 per cent came from working class (Prasad 1974). Thus, in literature, one can find two school of thoughts with relation to the aspect of social mobility.

- movement of individuals into the higher rung of classes because of one's own achievement orientation and motivation,
- movement of individuals into higher rung of classes because of market and work-situations such as promotional opportunities, achievement orientation, organizational exposures and contacts

Since a debate is raised by presenting two kinds of views in literature, therefore we thought to join the debate while studying the status-mobility observed among the respondents of the study due to their life-chances. This chapter focusses its attention on factors which facilitate mobility among the respondents for developing a new class order. It assumes that blurring of class divisions is taking place in the Indian industrial work organizations because of the unequal opportunities construed as the aspect of life-chances (Merton 1968). Consequently, new class configuration is emerging which is prompting a situation of class-structuration. Emerging trends of mobility linked with external support facilitators like market-situation, class situation and work situation in organizational context is discussed in chapter VII.

In this chapter, we propose to examine the differential achievement orientation found among the respondents working at two different types of organization i.e. 'mechanistic' type and the 'organic' type of organization. The chapter is divided into two sub sections. First section deals with the achievement orientation of the respondents while the second section focusses its attention on the respondents aspiration.

6.1 Achievement Orientation and the Objective Criteria

In the Indian society, achievement of individuals is judged by their socio-economic status such as caste affiliations, community placement like rural-urban etc., economic dispositions, income, occupations and educational qualifications. Indian people have varying degrees and measures of power, wealth and privileges. Caste and class are two phenomena of social stratification which offer many characteristics in common. They are linked with varying degrees of power, wealth and privileges (Lipset and Bendix 1959). Both are treated as agencies of social mobility and together they decide the position a person occupies in a community or social setting (Lipset and Zetterberg 1956).

Social classes are categories or groups of persons having defined status in society which permanently determines their relationship to other divisions or groups (Gisbert 1972). The relative position of the class in the social scale arises from the degree of prestige attached to the status. In every society, the prestige enjoyed by the ruling class is superior to that of the working class. The notion of joining or aspiring to join a group with access to more wealth, greater income, better occupation, than one is having at present, can thrive only in a society which has the said inequalities. A social class is distinguished from others by certain institutionalized relationships and customary modes of behaviour which are expected and demanded from its members by the society at large. It can be mode of dress, speech, types of acquaintances, ways of recreation or consumption pattern. The inherent element of stability in class adds to the charac-

teristic of the individuals composing it. If the class status is determined by wealth or a particular skill, it does not merely mean that its members possess this characteristic. But they certainly have the means and facilities, what is denied to the members of other classes (Gisbert 1972). Often people think that the caste system cannot have social mobility (internal) because of its ascriptive features. However, to some extent this notion has been challenged with the theory of Sanskritization (Srinivas 1952).

In India, there is a unique kind of ascriptive social stratification known as caste groups. Caste divisions of India are endogamous groups bearing a common name and its members have certain amount of restrictions on their social relationships with members of other caste groups. In short we can say that the distinctive features of caste are the following (Hutton 1951),

- Endogamy and Hereditary
- Rigid pattern of social and religious hierarchy
- Hereditary occupations
- Authority
- Taboos

For centuries, the caste system acted as an effective means of integrating the Indian society into one vast and variegated community, by incorporating the various groups in its life. With the strict division of occupation, the Hindu culture provided the land with generations of craftsmen who were extremely skillful in their vocations. This system insisted on keeping the traditional occupations and duties of the caste which fostered stagnation and immobility in the society. In recent times there has been a great deal of mobility for the castes themselves (Shyam Lal 1992, 1995). The individual continued to be chained to his caste. But irrespective of the caste background, some other caste members could climb to the highest positions in the society which were previously denied to them. In the traditional set up, these high positions were reserved

for the high castes. This became possible because of the dogma of birth, which was a deciding factor in determining the caste. It was deeply ingrained in the ancient Hindu society (ShyamLal 1995)

Present day Indian society has a peculiar correspondence between the caste and class configuration. The influence of an individuals' caste on his class status is beyond doubt (Dumont 1970). Consequently, the SES scale which is developed to classify respondents into different class categories has elements like occupation, income and education. The SES scale consists of four elements. They are respondents' occupation, income, education and their caste affiliation (for details see chapter II). Using the SES scale, the respondents were divided into three categories of the high, medium and low socio economic status (SES). It is found that respondents are well distributed in all the three categories. For example, 42 per cent respondents are in the high SES category, while 34 per cent are in low SES. Rest 24 per cent respondents are in the middle SES category. This suggests that a big chunk of respondents belong to the high SES group, while the middle SES category has the smallest number of respondents. Findings suggest that large number of respondents claim to have reached to the top SES level because of their market situation such as wages, family income, occupation, educational qualifications and caste affiliations. Therefore, they are considered to have high level of achievement orientation.

6.1.1 Class Status as Perceived by the Respondents

In order to compare the objective status of the respondents with their self assessment we asked them to rank themselves using the indicators of economic power, social prestige and consumption pattern and to place themselves in the class they belonged to (See details in Appendix). This kind of self assessment became essential in order to determine the behavioural aspect of stratification i.e. to ascertain, whether the perceived class status of the respondents tallied with their observed SES categories. Secondly, this exercise would enable us to understand the aspect of congruity and incongruity between the observed status and the perceived assessment made by the respondents of different

type of work-situation. Not much difference was found in the manual and non manual category of the respondents, hence, the categories of manual and non manual have been dropped for detailed discussion.

Table 6.1 Respondents Perceived Status and the Different Types of Work-Situation

N=300

	Types of Organization		Grand Total
	Mechanistic	Organic	
Low	26	61	87 (29)
Medium	112	87	199 (66.3)
High	12	2	14 (4.7)
Total	150	150	300 (100)

(Figures presented in parenthesis denotes percentage)

$$\chi^2 = 24.36 \quad df = 2 \quad P < .001$$

The table 6.1 shows the self assessment of respondents status. The data presented in the table shows that 199 out of 300 respondents placed themselves in the middle class category, 87 in low class and only 14 respondents placed themselves in high class category. The data, thus, show an overwhelming majority of respondents perceiving themselves in the middle class categories irrespective of their organizational affiliation. The noticeable differences between the respondents of two different types of organizations is due to their socio-economic conditions. It is interesting to observe that there is some differential assessment of perceived class status among the respondents of the two kinds of organization. Respondents belonging to middle class status are comparatively more (112) in 'mechanistic' organization in comparison to the 'organic' ones (87). This figure reveals that by and large respondents belonging to the 'organic' organizations have a very good assessment of their class status and hence they did not suffer from any kind of misgivings. This point becomes more observable, when one wants to examine

the consistency pattern. Statistically also, the results show high degree of relationship $\chi^2 = 24.36$ $df = 2$ $P < .001$ between the variables i.e. perceived status and respondents affiliating work-organizations. Thus, our hypothesis is well retained that the perceived status of the respondents varies in mechanistic and organic type of organization.

The chances of development of a situation of congruence or incongruence becomes more if there is discrepancy between the objective status and the subjectively perceived status. The question of congruence and incongruence arise because social strains which emerge from the conflict of universal desire and material success lead to the condition of anomie (Merton 1968).

In every society avoidance of incongruence is desired because its presence leads to frustration and anomie (Merton 1968). However, for capitalist system success is dependent on the aspect of striving or anxiousness. Therefore, in a capitalist or a developing nation, anxiousness or incongruence become the positive indicators of achievement. For example, an individual placed into a high caste category might perceive himself into a low class category. Consequently, the ascribed and the achieved status may also lead to a situation of incongruity (Homans 1962). In short, if there is a correspondence between the objective status and the subjective evaluation of the status then there is a state of congruity. In the reverse position, there is a situation of incongruity. It would be interesting to find out as to how many respondents are congruent or incongruent with respect to their perceived class status. From table 6.2 it becomes evident that an overwhelming majority of the respondents claimed to perceived themselves in the middle class status. On enquiry the reason for the same was found to be in their acquisition of the material belongings and the level of their education. Not much difference was found in the manual and non manual category of the respondents, hence no separate discussion in the table is presented on those category of respondents.

Table 6.2 presents the consistency in assesment between the observed status and perceived status of respondents. When matched the perceived status with their objective status, the result was quite unexpected. In the low SES category 45 respondents perceived their status to be low, 49 medium and only 9 respondents high status. With

Table 6.2 Correspondence between SES and the Perceived Class Status of the Respondents

N=300

SES Category	Perceived Class Status			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Low	45	49	9	103 (34.3)
Middle	25	45	1	71 (23.7)
High	17	105	4	126 (42)
Total	87	199	14	300 (100)

(Figures presented in parenthesis denotes percentage)

$$\chi^2 = 35.97 \text{ df} = 4 \text{ } P < 0.01$$

regard to medium SES, only 25 respondents placed themselves in low status category while 45 respondents in medium and only one respondent in high perceived status category. In the high SES category, 87 respondents perceived having low, 199 respondents medium and only 14 perceived having high status. It is interesting to note from table 6.2 that a majority of respondents placed themselves in the middle class group. This table also shows mismatch between the perceived status and the objectively measured SES. 87 respondents perceived to have low class disposition, however, in terms of SES 103 respondents placed them into the low SES category. It is interesting to point out that regarding self-perception, respondents had certain amount of deceptive assessment. Consequently, many respondents figure in the category of incongruents. For example, in medium SES, only 71 respondents are placed, while in self-assessment then figure is 199. Likewise, 126 respondents are in high SES category while in self-assessment only 14 respondents have placed themselves into high class status. This clearly denotes that there is a situation of incongruence, regarding subjective perception and objective ranking of status (SES). This strengthens our assumption that more respondents are in state of anxiety. Hence, they can strive for their betterment. Our hypothesis

that greater is the restlessness, more are the chances of betterment is well retained by the results $\chi^2 = 35.97$ $df = 4$ $P < .001$. As explained in chapter III and IV most of the respondents in mechanistic and organic organizations came from high caste and therefore, for them, caste may be the reason for becoming incongruent. However for respondents of organic type of organization, the job assignment and responsibilities which gave them differential authority was the reason for their incongruence.

6.2 Respondents Aspiration

In order to judge the mobility of the respondents, aspiration becomes a crucial variable. It is believed that the aspired respondents are more mobile than the uninspired ones. Many studies suggest that aspiration plays a significant role in promoting mobility (Sharan 1978, Mukherji 1986, Gupta 1985). The studies did report of variance in the level of aspiration existing among the workers. Aspiration in this study has been taken as one of the major indicators to assess the trends of class structuration. In this section, the differential patterns of aspirations exhibited among the respondents have been discussed. In order to examine the respondents' aspirations three aspects have been taken into consideration:

1. Aspiration for Self
2. Aspiration for dependents
3. Link between aspiration and the socio-economic status of the respondents

6.2.1 Aspiration for Self

In this section, we intend to discuss the pattern of aspiration found among the respondents of 'mechanistic' and 'organic' types of organization. Aspiration has an important association with the class-status of the respondents. To measure aspiration for self a four-point scale was prepared, taking the following elements into consideration:

- 1 Occupational preference
- 2 Consumption Pattern
- 3 Saving pattern
- 4 Investment and acquisitions

Each element has four to five questions and the respondents were asked to answer them. Depending upon their answers and cumulative scores, a measurement scale of aspiration was developed. This scale was divided into three categories as least aspired, moderately aspired and highly aspired (See details Chapter II)

Table 6.3 Differential Aspiration among respondents of Mechanistic and Organic Type of Organization

N=300

Aspiration categories	Work-Organization		Total
	Mechanistic	Organic	
Low	50	48	98 (32.7)
Moderate	73	81	154 (51.3)
High	27	21	48 (16.00)
Total	150	150	300 (100.00)

(Figures presented in parenthesis denotes percentage)

$$\chi^2 = 1.206 \text{ df} = 2 \text{ } P < .5471$$

From table 6.3, it is evident that 33 percent respondents belonged to low aspired category, 51 per cent belong to moderately aspired category and only 16 per cent are placed in the high aspired category. Whereas, in 'organic' organization 48 respondents belonged to low aspired category, 81 in moderately aspired category and only 21 respondents were placed in highly aspired respondents category. In contrast, mechanistic

organization figure 50 respondents in the low aspired category, 73 in the moderately aspired and 27 respondents in the high aspired category. A close perusal of table reveals that respondents of 'organic' organization were more aspired in comparison to their counterparts of 'mechanistic' organization $\chi^2 = 1.206$ df = 2 $P < .5471$. The hypothesis that aspiration level varies from organization to organization among the respondents is retained by the null hypothesis test. The statistical results $\chi^2 = 1.206$ df = 2 $P < .5471$ show some kind of interlinkage between the aspiration and the type of organization. The results show a positive association between the aspiration and the organization in which respondents are employed. It is observed that in general, the respondents are showing certain amount of aspiration which is reflected in their educational and career preferences. Due to better exposure, education and opportunities, the respondents of 'organic' organization were more aspired than of mechanistic type of organization.

Table 6.4 Respondents Occupational Aspiration and their Socio Economic Status Aspiration

N=300

Occupational Aspiration categories	Socio Economic Status			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Low	28	27	43	98 (32.7)
Medium	59	32	63	154 (51.3)
High	16	12	20	48 (16.00)
Total	103 (34.3)	71 (23.7)	126 (42.00)	300 (100) (100)

(Figures presented in parenthesis denotes percentage)

$$\chi^2 = 3.00 \text{ df} = 4 \text{ } P < .60$$

We have already discussed respondents assessment of their aspiration by taking certain questions as explained somewhere in this chapter and divided their aspiration

into three categories as low aspired, moderately aspired and highly aspired. As there was little difference between the categories of manual and non manual workers hence no separate discussion was made on them. Table 6.4 reveals the SES and the occupational aspiration of respondents. From the table it is evident 98 respondents belonging to the low aspired category, 154 respondents to moderately aspired category and only 48 respondents belonging to highly aspired category. In the SES category it is evident that 34 per cent respondents have low SES, 24 per cent medium SES and 42 per cent high SES. On comparison with both the variables, it is observed that 28 respondents in the low aspired category, have low SES, 27 have medium SES and 43 respondents have high SES. In the medium aspired category, 59 respondents have low SES, 32 respondents have medium SES and 63 respondents have high SES. Out of the respondents who have high aspiration 16 have low SES, 12 have medium SES and 20 have high SES. Statistically $\chi^2 = 3.00$ df = 4 $P < .60$ it is proved that our hypothesis has a positive association between aspiration and the SES of the respondents.

6.2.2 Aspiration for the Dependents

To assess the extent of aspiration for the dependents a scale was prepared in which three indicators were used. These indicators were

1. Future plan for children's/dependents' education
2. Professional choice for the dependents/children
3. Strategies adopted

For all questions, 1 point was given to positive response and 0 point to negative response. The total score ranged from 0-3. Those who secured up to one point were put in the category of less aspired, 2 points were put in the category of moderately aspired and 3 points were placed in the category of highly aspired. Thus the scale of aspiration for dependents comprised three categories of low aspired, moderately aspired and highly aspired.

Table 6 5 Respondents aspiration for their dependents in Work Organizations

N=300

Aspiration categories	Work-Organization		Total
	Mechanistic	Organic	
Low	42	40	82 (27.3)
Medium	79	66	145 (48.3)
High	29	44	73 (24.3)
Total	150	150	300 (100)

(Figures presented in parenthesis denotes percentage)

$$\chi^2 = 4.29 \text{ df} = 2 \text{ } P < .15$$

Table 6 5 reveals respondents aspiration for their dependents in 'mechanistic' and 'organic' organizations. In the 'mechanistic' organization, the table shows that 42 respondents belonged to the low aspired category, 79 respondents to moderately aspired and 29 respondents belonged to highly aspired category. On the other hand, in 'organic' organization 40 respondents had low aspiration, 66 respondents had moderate and 44 respondents had high aspiration for their dependents advancement. This reveals that in highly aspired category, respondents of organic organization have fared well in comparison to the mechanistic organization.

A perusal of table further reveals not much difference in the low aspired category of both the organizations. The reasons for this can be attributed to their educational background and world-view towards life. Many respondents informed that they wanted their dependents to be economically settled in future life, irrespective of the type of jobs. This thinking was a result of their poor education and exposure to the harsh realities of the life.

In 'organic' organization the respondents were highly aspired in comparison to their counterparts of 'mechanistic' organization. Respondents of the 'organic' organization wanted their children and dependents to be successful in their life. They wanted them to be economically independent. To achieve this, they made efforts to provide them all facilities like education in good school/university, arranging coaching classes etc. They as a matter of fact aimed high for their children's career. On the contrary, the respondents of the 'mechanistic' organizations wanted their children to get into some jobs so that they did not struggle and face economic disability. They wished their children to get into some government job. Status or the job satisfaction for the children was of least importance to them. This proves that the highly aspired respondents were more conscious towards their children's future. They wanted them to become economically independent.

By emphasizing on life-chances and using indicators to promote class mobility, Weber has opened up a new dimension of class situation. Often class situation is linked with status situation, work situation and material advantages or disadvantages such as material rewards, and social and economic opportunities or lack of opportunities which has been termed by Weber as life-chances. The family push and organizational atmosphere inculcate mobility among the industrial workers (Glass 1967, Lockwood 1958, Goldthorpe et al 1968, 1969). These issues have been dealt adequately in the forthcoming chapter.

6.3 Conclusion

To conclude, it can be said that the respondents of the 'organic' type of organizations are more aspired in comparison to their counterparts in the 'mechanistic' organizations. They are better educated and employed. Environment of work-organizations provides a reasonable atmosphere around the individual which moulds their thinking pattern according to the prevailing conditions and situation. It is found that workers in the 'mechanistic' organization are more fatalistic in their approach. They took every-

thing for granted. Whereas in the 'organic' organization the workers are not fatalistic. They were more pragmatic in their approach. From the above presentation it can be inferred that the workers of the 'mechanistic' organizations are comparatively less motivated and therefore show lack of mobility primarily due to the reason of rigidity of the organization. While the organic organizations give enough freedom and liberty to their workers which result in informal atmosphere and an informal condition of work culture. Thus, more frequency of mobility is visible among the workers of such organizations. Since we have used mobility to gauge the process of class-structuration, further discussion has to be made linking the class characteristics with the aspects of mobility. To understand the pattern of class-structuration (mobility) one has to identify the typical characteristics of social classes of India. In chapter I, we have identified a set of typical class characteristics to distinguish the working class from the middle and the upper classes. Further discussion along with findings to explain the trends of class-structuration is presented in the forthcoming chapter (See chapter VII)

Chapter 7

Life-chances and the Class-Structuration

In the preceeding chapters, we have discussed the conditions of working class workers employed in different industrial organizations. It was found that the industrial workers were far from being a homogenous category in the mechanistic and organic organizations. In terms of social background, personal life situations, working conditions, occupational aspirations and also in terms of class status identification, there were marked internal differences among them. In this chapter we propose to examine the concept of life-chances as elucidated by Max-Weber. It is assumed that workers of the 'organic' organizations have greater aspirations and are better educated in contemporary society. As a result, a new class structuration is taking place. Consequently, a new class configuration is emerging which is prompting a situation of class-structuration. The working class has not remained a working class. The middle class is no more a middle class. Both the classes are interlapping each other. Findings suggest that emerging trends of mobility can be linked with some external support facilitators like market situation, class situation and work situation in an organizational context.

To measure the extent of life-chances among the respondents, a scale was developed, which has been elucidated in chapter II. Life-chances comprise two basic elements: the market situation and the work situation. Market situation can be defined as the

conditions, which facilitate a worker to develop better ability or qualifications. This could be understood by his income, conditions of work, social relationships etc. which have an important bearing on the work conditions and it indirectly affects their workability. Hence, to assess the market conditions of the respondents, issues like wages, benefits in the job, conditions of work etc. have been taken into consideration. Work situation can be defined as the conditions in which the respondents worked. For examining the work situation, we have used the differential indicators propounded by Burns and Stalker (1994) for categorizing the organizations into two broad categories: mechanistic and organic. Accordingly, the organizations which were found to be open, non-hierarchical and flexible with lateral communication are termed as organic. The organizations which were found to be closed, hierarchical, rigid in norms and had restricted communication were termed as mechanistic. The details have been presented in Chapter III and IV.

7.1 Market Situation

First, we will discuss some aspects, which are relevant from the points of view of both working conditions and class structuration. This discussion would help us in identifying a relationship between working condition and the process of class-structuration. Studies conducted on the working conditions of the industrial workers have paid attention to the various aspects of work conditions like relationship with colleagues, wages, benefits, social and physical conditions at work, etc. (Sharma 1974, Sharan 1978). In the present study we have studied the market situation of our respondents by paying attention to the following aspects:

- 1 Wages
- 2 Benefits
- 3 Promotional chances
- 4 Psychosomatic impact of job

5 Satisfaction

6 Commitment

7.1.1 Wages

The socio-demographic profiles of the respondents have been presented in Chapter III and IV. The findings suggest that a simple majority of respondents belonged to the middle income category and thus earned a salary ranging from Rs 2001 to Rs 4000/- per month. While substantial number of respondents received a salary of Rs 1500/- to Rs 2000/- per month. Only a few respondents received a salary of Rs 4001/- to Rs 6500/- per month and they are categorized in the high income category. We found that the wage pattern was quite different in 'mechanistic' and 'organic' organizations between the manual and non manual category of respondents.

7.1.2 Benefits

On the issue of benefits, the management informed that the workers were entitled to various leave benefits like casual, medical, earned, festival leaves etc. However on probing, it was revealed by the respondents that the leave benefits were given in a differential manner. Respondents belonging to 'mechanistic' type of organizations informed that they were able to avail all types of leave facilities as per the government norms which the management was bound to follow. On the contrary in 'organic' organizations, the employees took leave only when it was required by them. There was nothing like making an announced schedule of leaves and adhering to them. When there was pressure of work, the workers themselves did not like to take leave because of a high sense of accountability and responsibility. When pressure of work was reduced, the management compensated for their leaves by announcing extra money. Apart from the leave benefits, certain other benefits like canteen facilities and housing benefits were also offered. In 'mechanistic' organizations the respondents were happy to note that their lodging was taken care of by the management. The management of the

'organic' organizations expressed its inability to provide accommodation to all the manual workers working in their organization

The non- manual workers of organic organization, who belonged to the upper class, had access to housing privileges. Canteen facility was provided uniformly in both types of organizations which catered to the needs of the employees by providing them subsidized meals and snacks during office hours. The respondents informed that they were satisfied with the canteen facilities. Transport facility was provided to the employees by the management in both the work organizations. Subsidized transport to ferry the respondents from their place of residence to the place of work was an important facility. Due to this benefit, a large proportion of the respondents in 'organic' organization managed to report to their duties on time. Medical reimbursements and dress allowances were some other benefits, which were provided to the employees of both organizations uniformly.

7.1.3 Promotional Benefits

With regard to promotional benefits, it was discovered that 'organic' organizations offered greater openness. In the 'mechanistic' organizations the promotional avenues were meagre and hence, restricted. They were dependent upon seniority. The policy of reservation in granting promotions aggravated the situation by making the promotions a distant reality in those organizations. In striking contrast, the promotions in organic organizations were linked with the competence and skills of the employees. The deserving and the competent were granted promotions outright on the basis of merit and skills. These organizations were liberal in granting promotions to their employees, whereas the 'mechanistic' organizations were conservative in granting promotions. The management of the 'mechanistic' organizations was more or less helpless in this regard because the policies pertaining to the transfer and promotions was vested in the hands of the government. The management had to simply carry out the wishes of the government. In 'organic' organizations, it was the sole responsibility of the management to decide upon the related issues of promotions and transfers. Hence, it can be concluded

that in 'organic' organizations, the promotional benefits were better available and open than in the 'mechanistic' organizations where they were rigid and closed

7.1.4 Psychosomatic Impact

In order to assess the psychosomatic impact of the job, the respondents were asked to narrate the nature of stress, their jobs resulted in. Quite surprisingly, many respondents talked of physical tiredness resulting from their jobs. In answer to the question to the cause of physical stress, the respondents of 'organic' organization said that their working hours almost always exceeded eight hours a day. Often they were required to keep on moving, attending to several jobs at the same time. This often rendered their work far more strenuous than it really was. The cumulative effect of the changing of jobs paying simultaneous attention on variety of jobs had rendered the work unpleasant which further resulted in bringing stress in their job. In the 'mechanistic' organization the respondents informed of having mental stress. The respondents never valued their job as important, rather they were more interested in discussing trivial matters on their duty hours. Because of their low commitment, the organizational objectives were not crucial for them. They only performed their jobs mechanically and thus did not have any physical stress.

7.1.5 Satisfaction

The number of workers in the satisfied category was higher in the 'mechanistic' organization. Differences in job security and the welfare schemes offered by the different organizations was the primary reason for it. Though the pay package in the 'organic' organization was higher in comparison to the 'mechanistic' organization, the security and welfare schemes were not identical. In the 'organic' organization, the welfare schemes were not satisfactory. Only their pay package was better. Moreover, the management of the 'mechanistic' organization took a keen interest in the overall development of the organization. These resulted in a disparity at its level of satisfaction. The re-

spondents of the 'mechanistic' organization were quite satisfied with their jobs, yet the commitment was less in comparison to the respondents of the 'organic' organization

7.1.6 Commitment

This study examined the relationship between the aspect of commitment with upward and downward mobility among the industrial workers of manual and non manual categories. For examining the extent of commitment, a scale was developed using some questions of the schedule, which pointed towards the aspect of commitment. The scale of commitment was prepared on the response pattern of the following questions

- 1 Present Jobs liking
- 2 Continuation in the present job
- 3 Job Satisfaction
- 4 Priorities if the present job was terminated
- 5 Like to join an other organization on higher salary

The scale of commitment was divided into three categories: reluctant, devoted and consecrated workers. The respondents of different types of organizations were judged for commitment using these three categories. It was found that the respondents of the 'organic' organization were committed to their jobs. They expressed their willingness to continue with their present jobs. In majority of cases, the respondents were those who got their jobs on compensatory grounds. Those who hailed from distant places expressed their dissatisfaction not in terms of job but in terms of cultural alienation and homesickness. They came from far off places like South India particularly from Tamilnadu and Kerala and thus expressed their dissatisfaction. These respondents could not assimilate themselves in the changed cultural environment and therefore, felt alienated. In the 'organic' organization, the respondents appeared to be committed to their jobs because of the available promotional avenues. Moreover, the security of

service also provided an impetus for them to stay committed to their jobs. Whereas in mechanistic organization, majority of respondents cited security of service to be the prime reason for continuing in job. For them job-satisfaction or commitment was of not much importance. The workers of 'organic' organization also reported variation in jobs which was not the case in the 'mechanistic' organization. Some respondents of 'mechanistic' organization appreciated the facilities in the job. Owing to these reasons differences in the commitment and satisfaction levels of the respondents exist.

7.2 Work Situation

Work situation is the second major element in the concept of life-chances. Work situation can be understood by the type of organization one was employed in. The organizational typologies have been elucidated and elaborated in Chapter III and IV. To make a differentiation, between the organizations, we have used the indicators developed by Burns and Stalker (1994). Burns and Stalker have characterized the distinction between 'mechanistic' and 'organic' organizations on following the five different indicators (see table 3.1 and 4.1).

- Nature of Environment
- Organization of Work
- Nature of Authority
- Type of Communication System
- Nature of Commitment

7.2.1 Nature of Environment

In 'mechanistic' organization, the environment was very formal and strict rules and regulations had to be adhered to, which made the atmosphere stable and rigid. In them,

formal control was characterized by a rigid hierarchical structure in which operations were divided into various departments, sections etc. In these departments different tasks were performed in a designed manner and frequent changes were not permitted. The work atmosphere was marked by low degree of variability. The rules to control the work environment were made in the form of statutes, and no deviation was permitted in them, without involving the higher ups. This resulted in routinization and stagnation in the environment which was marked by lack of dynamism.

In the 'organic' organizations, not much importance was given to formulation of rules and regulations for control. There were no rigid rules hence, the atmosphere was casual, and operations were divided into minimum management cadres. In matters of crises, frequent meetings took place ignoring the hierarchical boundaries to resolve the crises. Employees had the liberty to approach their officers for discussing their operational problems. Thus, the work environment was quite informal in organic organizations. Management control was direct, and operations were divided into independent units under a sectional head (see table 4.1). In those units individuals were guided by flexible norms. Frequent changes among supervisors/managers were permitted easily if some need arose. All these attributes suggest that work atmosphere in such organization was informal and open, which resulted into bringing high degree of variation in operations. Because of the free, casual and informal atmosphere the workers did not feel boredom, monotony or fatigue.

7.2.2 Organization of Work

In 'mechanistic' organizations, the work was designed in such a manner that the minute details of the operations got pre-defined. Tasks were performed by individuals following the rank and order principle. The important tasks pertaining to production, increase in consumer demands etc. rest with the higher ups. The lower rungs only executed the assigned tasks without getting involved in the decision making process. Hierarchy was well defined, and the total work organization differentiated between the managers and workers.

In 'organic' organizations, work roles were not rigid. They were changeable and were not defined in clear terms of hierarchical boundaries. Organization's profit, welfare and well-being became the matter of concern for every employee. In order to attain the organizational objectives, necessary adjustments were made for accommodation. Organic organizations made use of the latest available technology and knowledge to optimize the productivity of the organization.

7.2.3 Nature of Authority

With regards to authority, the hierarchical rung of 'mechanistic' organizations was made on basis of experiences and controlling ability. The upper rungs of the hierarchy shouldered the responsibility of decision making. In those organizations, higher rung management were very dominating and the decision making power was totally centralized in their hands. The officers and the managers were not easily accessible to their subordinates. This made the authority structure rigid and static in mechanistic organization.

'Organic' organization, was marked by minimum involvement of higher rung authorities in day to day operations. In such organizations, competence and efficient handling of inter-personal relations were more important. The bosses encouraged the participation of each and every staff member in the process of control, planning, coordination, direction and innovation. Management was easily accessible to the subordinates. To conclude, it can be said that in 'mechanistic' organization the nature of authority was centralized and was based on experience, controlling ability and administrative experience, whereas in 'organic' organization, it was decentralized and was based on strong inter-personal relations, efficiency and competence.

7.2.4 Communication Style

In 'mechanistic' organization, the nature of communication was formal. Messages flowed in three directions: downwards, upwards and parallel. The downward mes-

'mechanistic' organization led to partial commitment among the employees as they got concerned with their assigned jobs. Only assigned tasks are completed. The employees in those organizations lack egalitarian knowledge, experience and skills hence they attached more importance to loyalty and obedience. To survive in that environment, these tools were considered important. Their energies were directed towards the appeasement of bosses for personal gains. Among them, there was little feeling of organization's well being. As a result, jobs were carried out in a mechanical manner with little or practically no commitment.

On the contrary, 'organic' organizations were found to be informal in nature and were characterized by minimum hierarchical control and flexibility. The jobs were defined on the basis of competence and individual skills. These attributes resulted in attaching greater importance to egalitarian knowledge, experience and skills which resulted in full commitment among them. The workers were concerned with the organization's welfare and success. Whatever task they considered important for the organization, was carried out diligently and efficiently by them. The high feeling of organization's well being motivated them to be fully committed. This resulted in stronger feeling of accountability amongst them.

Hence, we can conclude, that 'mechanistic' organizations were marked by partial commitment to loyalty and obedience towards the hierarchy and lack of accountability whereas 'organic' organizations were marked by full commitment of the employees towards the organization, diligence and efficiency towards the assigned duties and a feeling of greater accountability.

7.3 Life-Chances

This chapter focuses its attention on supporting factors which facilitate mobility among the respondents for developing a new order. It is assumed that a blurring of class divisions is taking place in the industrial work organization of India, because of the unequal opportunities which have been construed as life-chances (Merton 1961). Findings in

this chapter suggest that emerging trends of mobility can be linked with some external support situations such as organizational differential work environment benefits, responsibilities (work-situation) and/or individual's own capability (market-situation)

Table 7 1 Life Chances and types of Work-Organization

N=300

Life-Chances	Work-Organization		Total
	Mechanistic	Organic	
Low	14	31	45 (15)
Moderate	108	93	201 (67 00)
High	28	26	54 (18 00)
Total	150	150	300 (100)

(Figures presented in parentheses denote percentage)

$$\chi^2 = 7.615 \quad df = 2 \quad P < 0.05$$

A close look at table 7 1 reveals that in mechanistic organization, the frequency of respondents having high life chances is 28 and those having average life chances was 108. Only 14 respondents are present in the category of having poor life chances. On the contrary, in organic organization, the respondents having low life-chances was 31. In the same organization, 93 respondents were found to have average life-chances. Another 26 respondents are present in the category of high life chances. Statistically also the hypothesis is proved and is well retained ($\chi^2 = 7.615 \quad df = 2 \quad P < 0.05$)

7.3.1 Life-chances as a Tool of Mobility

To examine the relationship between the life-chances and the socio-economic status of the respondents, table 7 2 presents the relationships

Table 7 2 Lifechances and the SES of the respondents

N-300

Lifechances	Socio Economic Status			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Low	23	13	9	45 (15)
Average	72	35	94	201 (67 00)
High	8	23	23	54 (18)
Total	103 (34 3)	71 (23 7)	126 (42)	300 (100) (100)

(Figures presented in parentheses denote percentage)

$$\chi^2 - 28.101 \text{ df} = 4 \text{ } P < .01$$

Table 7 2 portrays that 15 per cent respondents have low life chances. The percentage of respondents having average life-chances is 67 percent and only 18 percent having high life chances. A closer look at the above table further reveals that respondents having low life chances are those respondents having low SES and their number is 23 which is followed by medium SES respondents. Their number is 13. The respondents having low life-chances and high SES is 9. In the similar vein the respondents having average life-chances and also having low SES, their frequency is 72. This is followed by respondents having medium life-chances. The frequency of those respondents is 35. Those who have average life-chances but high SES are 94 in number. The frequency of respondents having high life-chances but low SES is quite less. They are only 8 in number which is followed by the respondents having medium SES and their frequency is 23. The respondents having high life-chances and high SES are 23 in number. Statistically this is proved that life-chances and SES are related to each other ($\chi^2 - 28.101 \text{ df} = 4 \text{ } P < .01$)

The notion of life-chances implies that a person will try to attain the identical

position of his parents, role-model, provided he gets the requisite amount of facilities. Further, in literature, life-chances are defined as the material advantages or the disadvantages that a member of a group or class can expect within a particular society. A person's position in the stratification system has important effect on his life. It may enhance or reduce his life-chances, that is, his chances of obtaining those things defined as desirable and avoiding those things defined as undesirable in his society. Dahrendorf (1979) used the concept of life-chances to refer to the unequal distribution of health care and associated life expectancy. In India, life-chances is considered as aspired professional roles which are similar to the social context in which the children have been brought up. For instance a son of a wealthy cloth merchant would like to pursue or may get into the same kind of business or trade. Similarly a son of a lawyer might become a lawyer. According to Weber this happens because of the increased exposure or opportunities of the person from his or her social context or class situation (Life-chances as termed by Max Weber). Increased exposure or opportunities here means the market situation such as working conditions, wages, income, social conditions of work etc. Social context means work situation. Work situation can be defined as the situation in which the social conditions of the work place determine the outlook of the individual. In other words it can be said that the external factors such as the organizational climate play a decisive role in bringing a change in the outlook of the individual. It is owing to this reason that the differences in the life-chances are evident from table 7.2.

7.4 Class-Structuration and Its Indicators

To understand the pattern and frequency of mobility in the frame-work of class-structuration, we have used a set of typical attributes to distinguish the working class from the middle and the upper classes of India. The typical construct of social classes has been made on the basis of sociological literature along with our own observations. These typical constructs would enable the reader to make a distinction between the working class and the other classes (middle and upper) of India. Often people feel

that recruitment into the categories which are close by is rather easy than the farther ones, for example an upper class worker can easily move to lower middle order than the upper middle class category

Employment in the industrial sector created a new class which was characterised by stable incomes and security of tenure. This new class became conscious about its rise in the standard of life, progress in literacy and higher education along with its insistence on egalitarian outlook, democratic ideals and practice. Increased awareness among the younger generation because of better education and media exposure made them push for more success (Dahrendorf 1959, Rinehart 1971, Mishra 1983). The stable income soon became a good living wage *vis a vis* the weaker section of the society comprising a majority of the population. At this point one may ponder as to what are the typical characteristics of the Industrial Class. It will not be out of the way to remind that the typical characteristics of the classes have already been mentioned in chapter I. However, for explaining the findings in the proper form, it would be apt if the table is presented again.

Table 7.3 shows the typical class characteristics of all the classes. It is evident from table 7.3 that the working class is characterised by strong solidarity which is missing in the middle and the upper classes. The upper class is characterised by individualistic orientation. The working class has an existential way of living whereby they believe in the philosophy of eat, drink and be merry. They live in the present and are least bothered about the future. On the contrary the middle class plans ahead for the future and believe in savings for exigencies. The upper class is very ostentatious and leads a luxurious living. The working class is characterised by lack in morality overtones. The middle class has moral overtones. However, the upper class does not overemphasize on moral rules and principles. Lastly, the working class is devoid of economic, social and decision making power which the middle class has but it is devoid of decision making power. The upper class has all the powers including the decision making power.

In summary the typical class characteristics of social groups of India are quite

Table 7 3 Typical Characteristics of Social Classes

Working Class	Middle Class	Upper Class
Strong we feeling	Lacks in togetherness and collectivity	Highly individualistic and self centered
Lacks in aspiration and achievement	Highly aspired and strong achievement orientation	Lacks in aspiration because highly satisfied
Existential way of living	Lacks in existential living	Affluent living
Lacks in moral overtones	Moral overtones	Lacks moral overtones
Lacks in future perspective	Lots of futuristic plans	Very meticulous planning
Devoid of economic power	Has economic and social power but lacks in decision making power	Has all kinds of power economic, social and decision making

distinctive to each other. The above stated set of typical characteristics has been used as main instruments for finding out the emerging trends of mobility among the industrial workers of Kanpur. Emergence of new strata of working class brought a new set of social relationships for which two elements played a decisive role in bringing about social change in India- first, western science and technology and second social planning in post independence era. The set of typical characteristics have been used as main indicators for assessing the movement among the respondents from one class into the other. To differentiate the working class i.e. manual workers from the non manual workers i.e. middle and the upper class, the following aspects are taken as main indicators.

The category of manual and non manual workers represent the wage earners workers such as assembly line workers, peons, guards, drivers etc. While the category of non

Table 7 4 Characteristic features of manual and non manual workers

	Workers	
	Manual	Non Manual
1	Collective Orientation	Lack of Collectivity
2	Lack of Aspiration	Aspired Lot
3	Lacks Future Planning	Lots of Future Planning
4	Lacks in Possession	Hankering Desire for acquisition and possession

manual workers comprises of managers, assistant managers, supervisors etc. Weber has open up a new dimension of class situation by emphasizing on life-chances and using indicators to promote class mobility. Often class situation is linked with status situation, work situation and material advantages or disadvantages like material rewards and social and economic opportunities or lack of opportunities which has been termed as life-chances. The family push factors and the organizational atmosphere has been found showing tremendous importance in inculcating mobility among the industrial workers (Glass 1967, Lockwood 1958, Goldthorpe et al 1969).

7 4.1 Collective Orientation

To judge the collective orientation, trade union participation is an important and observable method. Studies report that the workers do not become members of any trade-unions (Ramaswamy 1977). This is found true among the respondents of this study also. None of the manual worker was a member of an union. However, it is interesting to point that many non manual workers, mostly the managers and the supervisors were found to be members of unions or associations which strived hard to protect their interests. Where the unions were not in existence they have formed their own associations and working groups. They proudly informed that they became members of the unions and associations to get certain advantages. Some of them further mentioned by citing an example. Once their management was not ready to give them bonus. They approached their unions. The unions threatened to go on strike.

Consequently, the bonus money was immediately released to the managers and the supervisors. This incidence shows that the middle class is adopting the means and ways of the working class to achieve their goals. This is indicative of downward mobility especially for the middle class workers of Indian work-organizations. It is often observed that the respondents of both the manual and non manual category of working class huddled together especially those coming from the same village and same communities and speaking the same language. Due to these social characteristics the respondents made a separate category with a feeling of togetherness to show solidarity, especially with respect to residence, choosing the place of work, sending their children to same educational centres, arranging their leisure activities together etc.

7.4.2 Lack in Aspiration

The working class have certain fixed notions of achievement and expectation. Their major economic concerns tend to be of existential kind. In majority of cases they want to live as they are accustomed to live. Comfort and luxury are alien notions for them. On the other hand the middle and the upper class are an aspired lot and have a meticulous planning for the betterment of their future. Aspiration have an important association with the class- status of the respondents. The aspect of aspiration has been enumerated in chapter VI. It was reflected in respondents education and career preferences. Due to better exposure, education and opportunities, the respondents of the organic organizations were more aspired in comparison to respondents of mechanistic organizations. This aspiration was in reference to their own career and their children's aspiration.

On enquiry many respondents in the 'organic' organization informed that they want their children and dependents to attain success in their life. They wanted them to be economically independent. For it they were willing to provide them all possible facilities. They as a matter of fact aimed high of their children's career. On the contrary the respondents in the 'mechanistic' organizations wanted their children to get into some jobs so that they did not struggle and face economic disability. They wished

that their children get into some government job. Status or the job satisfaction for the children was of least importance to them. This proves that the respondents who were highly aspired were more conscious of their children's future. They wanted them to become independent and not to get into any service. These respondents were in 'organic' organization. An example proves this point more authoritatively. Mr X was a driver in a government owned organization. He was a semi literate and had studied upto class 10th only. In his family there were six members. His monthly income was meagre. In spite of the fact, he was aspiring to make his children, highly educated. He wanted his only son to become an engineer. In our country, where there are marked disparities and paucity of opportunities, having this aspiration really makes a surprise. This type of attitude of a low class employee who finds it difficult to meet both his ends proves that the working class has resorted to aspire for the betterment of future both for themselves as well as for their children or dependents.

7 4.3 Lack in possession

It is found that the working class or the manual workers lack in possession. As mentioned earlier, their belief in the ethic of existential way of living hardly leave enough room for future planning and aspirations. As a result they are devoid of material possession. Our findings suggest that this thinking was not found true. Among our respondents, both manual and non manual, we found that they strived for material possession. It was found that the workers have become more aware in the acquisition of the material goods. To utter surprise, many of them planned meticulously about their future. Hence in the changed situation it would not be proper to brand them of having an existential way of living. This shows that working class (manual) workers have tried to move up by showing a trend of acquiring goods like Television, motor-cycles/mopeds, fridge, coolers/fans, ornaments etc. almost in the same manner as non manual workers (middle and upper classes) have been trying to show. In other words one can surmise that the middle class and the upper class are coming down in terms of acquiring material goods or possession while the working class workers are moving

upwards

7.4.4 Lack Future Planning

It is assumed that the working class workers are devoid of future planning because of their belief in the philosophy of existentialism. This philosophy makes them believe in the present. They are least bothered about the future. Our respondents were found to possess just the reverse traits. Most of the working class respondents informed of putting their savings in the purchase of shares. By doing so they were confident of growing their money. For example one of the respondents informed that he preferred to invest his savings in the stock market. This feeling which was found missing in them previously shows their mobility.

7.5 Conclusion

Hence it can be concluded that the respondents of manual and non manual categories do not have any distinct difference based on the typical class characteristics. They are showing a pattern of mixture by adopting the features of one another. Consequently, this finding does support the assumption of the process of class structuration which is setting in among the industrial workers.

Marx's class category did not conceive of mobility. The most influential alternative theory of class is found in Max Weber's work. Unlike Marx, Weber saw the possibility of movements of individuals from one class category to another. Marx's definition of class has overemphasized on the aspect of ownership (or non-ownership) of productive property. While Max Weber emphasized other factors like status, prestige and life-chances to classify groups of persons into different class categories. In particular, he considered status and prestige as distinct variables. He also emphasized a link between class and opportunity, arguing that a class is a category or group of people who share similar life-chances. Weber stressed divisions within classes and empirical changes in

class boundaries to a much greater extent than Marx. Examples are Weber's distinction between ownership and commercial classes, and the way in which different skill levels divided the working class in terms of life chances.

Beteille (1996) examined the shift in the perception, meaning, and legitimacy of caste in India. Shyam Lal (1995) analyzed the phenomenon of purposeful downward mobility (referred to as dalitization) from India's upper castes or tribes to the Bhangi (the lowest of the untouchables). He opined that dalitization is not confined to Rajasthan, but can be observed in other states as well. In another significant study Shyam Lal (1992) examined the process of 'desanskritization' in Rajasthan. In it, he analysed the downward mobility of a population in Rajasthan, where individuals of upper castes or tribes broke away their affiliation with the parent group, and culturally incorporated themselves, formally or legally, into the lower castes, thus acquiring a new low-caste identity. Uplaonkar (1992) examined the mobility of scheduled caste and the issue of social justice in Karnataka. He concluded that there has been no significant change in the socio-economic status of the former untouchables, as most of the reservation benefits are taken away by backward and forward castes. Dahiwala (1989) studied the occupational mobility of self-employed Indians of Scheduled castes in the industrial city of Kolhapur and analysed data on sources of mobility, types of modern occupations adopted, and the effects of caste, religion, education, age, gender, and family background on mobility. The findings indicate that the subjective, motivational determinants of mobility included encouragement by social networks, economic hardships, ideological impact and educational qualifications. Grover and Dak (1987) studied the rural industrialization and labour mobility in Haryana and concluded that the shift from hereditary occupations was found to be influenced significantly by caste, age, education, family pattern, mass media exposure, and income of the entrepreneurs. Infrastructural facilities also exerted a positive influence on labor mobility. Consequently, a trend of class structuration among the industrial workers of India is extensively visible with the existence of both downward and upward mobility. For the working class workers it is upward mobility, whereas the middle and the upper class workers are exhibiting downward mobility.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

In this study of Industrial Workers, an attempt has been made to examine three broad areas, the first dealing with the formation of social groups and the second with the professional life of the workers, their work situation, job satisfaction commitment and devotion to work and third, to examine the aspiration and the mobility-trends among the workers. The main objective of this research inquiry was to find out the empirical viability of Weber's concept of life-chances for explaining the process of class structuration among the industrial workers of India. Along with the overall objective, there are some additional objectives of the study enumerated below

- to examine the differential characteristics of the industrial workers employed in the 'mechanistic' and 'organic' type of organizations
- to assess the importance of market situation among the industrial workers
- to understand the influence of the work-situation on the aspect of class mobility taking place among the industrial workers and,
- to identify the factors responsible for the process of class structuration taking place among the industrial workers

We undertook this study of 300 workers from the industrial units of Kanpur and Allahabad. The primary source of data has been collected from five different work organiza-

tions. These work organizations were engaged in the manufacturing of various products such as fertilisers, induction heating, automobiles, defence ammunitions and telephone equipments and components. All the five work organizations have been categorised into mechanistic and organic types on the basis of the work environment, authority, and the nature of work culture.

8.1 Hypothesis

Having identified the objectives of the study, it is important to present the developed set of hypotheses which were examined and verified from the empirical situation. Following are the hypotheses:

1. Higher is the level of education, greater is the preference for industrial occupations.
2. Greater is the job commitment, less is the preference for routinized work condition.
3. Difference of assessment between workers perceived status and their SES.
4. Better is the future planning for children, greater is the possibility of moving farther from the working class.
5. Progressively higher is the occupational aspiration, better is the SES.
6. Lacking in the collective orientation, greater is the possibility of moving into middle class categories.
7. Better is the future planning, greater is the possibility of moving farther from working class.
8. Life-chances have inverse relationship with the type of work organization.

Our empirical findings tend to support hypotheses nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. See tables 3.5, 4.5, 5.8, 6.1, 6.2, 6.4 and 7.2 for details. However, hypothesis number 8 stating that

life-chances have inverse relationship with the work organization' could not be proved. Instead our findings reveal that life-chances have positive relationship with the work organizations.

The theoretical framework of the study is linked with the theory of classes in a work-organization within a frame reference of class mobility. Weberian model of work ethic emphasizes on the fact that the workers behaviour cannot be understood without having a grasp on the work setting or work organization where work groups are formed. Two major concern in the field of work organization emerged at fore. The first was the study of changes in the technical and organizational aspects of work which had an impact on commitment levels, structure of work groups and on occupational socialization. The second was the analysis of workers' interaction and attitudes - that is of strategies open to workers, given the technical conditions of the work setting (Whyte 1951, Sayles 1958 Burns and Stalker, 1961, Goldthorpe, 1977). A work organization may be studied not as a place of work, but as a unit where workers have been putting their entire working life. How does the work environment create an instinct of mobility under different technological and social conditions? What attitudes and aspirations are associated with different types of workers such as manual and non manual administrative and managerial, etc? In the light of the above facts we examined the role of work organizations and workers capability (life-chances) on class structuration or mobility.

Marxian studies have analyzed classes in relation to the economic conditions that is two bi-polar groups divided on the basis of ownership of capital and means of production. For him, class was more than just a way of describing the economic position of different groups. On the other hand, Max Weber divided the classes according to the aspects of market situation and work situation that gave rise to different life-chances. Capital was one source of market capacity, but skill and education formed another. Weber presented another significant principle of stratification that differed from Marxian notion of class. It attached more significance to social honour or status in a society. Modern accounts of class have created a debate on the issue of identification of classes purely on the economic conditions. Apart from the economic conditions some scholars

feel the importance of identifying the classes on the basis of social conditions prestige and life chances (Dahrendorf 1960) Modern thinkers identify classes as social categories, and on that basis, they have ranked classes using a variety of factors such as prestige, power, wealth and consumption-pattern With relation to Indian situation, it is found that the Indian classes are more of status categories than economic categories (Mishra 1983) As mentioned earlier, the market situation refers to material rewards related with job benefits and opportunity, such as pay leaves opportunity for promotion, social affiliation such as caste, religious, family background etc The work situation refers to work-tasks, work environment and responsibilities assigned within an organization, the structure of social relations at work, control or authority systems existing in the work organizations etc There is assumed to be a congruence between the factors that market rewards and working conditions become progressively better as one ascends the class hierarchy The process by which classes may be transformed from economic categories into socially meaningful groups is commonly referred to as structuration Factors determining structuration include residence pattern of social mobility and common life-styles all of which tend to turn classes into identifiable social groups

The application of Weberian model of class is not always easy to be identified In principle, the criteria allows for a multiplicity of classes based on different levels of market rewards, different types of work situation and different combinations of the two This means that identifying just a few major classes is a matter of interpretation rather than being self evident and objectively determined Using the Weberian notion of classes we have concluded that class structure can be seen as composed of multiple factors such as opportunities, market situation, work-situation construed as life-chances On the basis of them, we have tried to point out a possible relationship between the type of work organization and class structuration because of the prevalence of life-chances The present study drew attention on this aspect of work situation which in turn influenced the class boundaries within a work organization For making this study a useful exercise, two different types of work organizations have been chosen on Burns and Stalker's model Some efforts were made to find out the role of work organization

on the aspect of formation of new classes as the process of class structuration in Indian industrial scenario

8.2 Findings

From the present study many important points emerged which facilitated in having a focussed attention on the issue of mobility which was both downward and upward. This further resulted in examining the process of structuration taking place among the industrial workers of U P. The major findings are enumerated below

- 1 The respondents had a varied socio-economic background. As a result of their varied background, they had different aspirational levels and motivations. The respondents in the organic organization had greater aspiration in comparison to their counterparts in the mechanistic organizations. They were better in all respects than their counterparts who were employed in the mechanistic organizations. The reason for their high aspiration was due to the fact that they were better exposed to the realities of the life because of the differences in the levels of education, available opportunities and incomes. This has resulted in bringing certain amount of confidence in them.
- 2 Respondents having same level of education aspired for identical type of jobs. For example, respondents who had low education or average education were engaged in manual types of jobs. Similarly those who had high education had a penchant for non manual type of jobs.
- 3 There was similarity of work orientation among the working class manual respondents who were engaged in different types of work environment.
- 4 A striking difference was found among the respondents' market situation i.e. wage, benefits, allowances etc. and the different types of work situation. In spite of differences of respondents work situation, not much difference was found in

perceived assesment of one's own class in both the mechanistic and organic type of organizations

- 5 Most of the respondents of the organic organization were found to be having greater commitment towards their jobs. In striking contrast the respondents of the mechanistic organization were found to be less satisfied and less committed towards their job. The reasons, may be the difference in the relationship between the workers and their bosses. It was noticed in the organic organizations that workers had better communication with their authorities and they have shown greater commitment and motivation towards their job. Also in the organic organizations, there was freedom of working hours and informal atmosphere which motivated the personnel to perform their tasks diligently. In contrast the mechanistic organizations had the jobs, clearly patterned along with the distinct and rigid division of authorities. As a result the communication system in those organizations was formal. This restricted the commitment of the employee to merely discharging of the assigned duties. Nothing beyond it can be obtained from them as they were least bothered about their organization.
- 6 No ideal form of organization can maximize efficiency in every situation. Mechanistic organizations were found to be more suited to stable conditions whereas organic organizations to changing conditions.
- 7 Life chances play a crucial role in one's life. It provided a reasonable environment around the individual which moulded their thinking pattern according to the prevailing conditions and situation. It was found that workers of the mechanistic organization were more fatalistic in their approach. They took everything for granted. Whereas in the organic organization the workers were not fatalistic. They were more pragmatic in their approach. These differences emerged due to the market situation and the work situation. The attributes of market situation like wages, education, aspiration, family background, social relations at work and the socio-economic status resulted in making the respondents more aspirant and socially mobile. Likewise, the work situation too, played an important role in

determining the work environment, physical stress, authority and responsibility by moulding their thought process

8.3 Suggestions

In view the above discussions, it can be surmised that respondents of the organic organization are found to be more of mobile and committed lot. This suggests that in the Indian situation those type of organizations should be promoted which promote flexibility greater openness at work situation, liberty, and freedom among the workers. The organic type of organizations fit properly in the above category and hence these should be promoted. This issue becomes all the more important in the light of the ensuing debate going on at the national level. The debate which is of utmost importance is the issue of promoting industries. The important question is that as a free nation shall we promote nationalization of industries or privatization. On the basis of this study, we can conclusively say that in Indian conditions we should promote privatization of industries. The mechanistic organizations were more traditional. But on the issue of productivity of the organization it was found that the those organizations were running in losses. The formal attitude of the management restricted the individuals to innovative ideas and accomplishments. Whereas in organic organizations the informal attitude of the management motivated the individuals to perform better in order to diligently accomplish their assigned tasks.

8.4 Future Studies

In this study of industrial workers, we could only include the male respondents and the number of respondents was restricted to a manageable limit of 300 respondents. However, to examine the issue of life chances and the class-structuration one can study the industrial women workers of India. Secondly, the locale of the study was confined to U P only. Similar type of study could be conducted in the other developing states.

of the country to gain indepth information about the condition of industrial workers of both the sexes

8.5 Policy Implications

The present study proposes certain policy guidelines for the planners and the policy makers

- In our country, control in the industrial organizations should be centralized. This helps in creating an environment which is conducive for the growth of the industries and enhances productivity.
- Certain norms should be infused among the industrial workers to make them feel more responsible at work.
- The workers should be made more committed towards their career by providing them incentives for education and greater responsibility.
- Manufacturing units should be given freedom in developing their own work norms.
- Control within the industries may be shared in the form of co-operatives to enable the workers to develop a sense of responsibility and thus ensure their greater participation in the decision making process.
- Manufacturing units must promote greater inflow of communication among themselves and their workers.
- More welfare measures to be introduced for the workers to improve their market situation and work situation and the government must monitor these activities through their agencies.

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Chapter One

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APPENDIX A

English Version of the Schedule

[1] OCCUPATIONAL DETAILS :

- 1 Details of previous jobs
Nature of job, Post, Permanent, Temporary, Place of job, Salary, Reason of quitting the job
- 2 Facilities of the present job
Leaves, Insurance, Funds, Bonus, Allowances, Special, Loans, Others Casual, Children, For Vehicles, Earned, Travelling, For Marriage, Medical, Vehicles, For Illness, LTC/HTC, Uniforms, For Houses, Others
- 3 Some parameters like facilities, freedom etc are considered to be important
Which variables you give importance please mark them?
Safety, Work Freedom, Job differentiation, Facilities, Polite Behaviour Money Promotion Opportunity, Working Union, Working Atmosphere Others
- 4 Is the present job favourable to you? [yes/no]
- 5 Before joining this job did you ever think of the types of job which you would like to join ? [yes/no/can not say]
- 6 Would you like to be engaged lifelong with this job keeping in mind your qualifications and past experiences ? [yes/no]
- 7 Give the reasons
- 8 Do you work in shifts ? [yes/no]
- 9 If yes, which shift would you like to prefer ?
First, Second, Third

- 10 Would you like to come in overtimes? [yes/no]
- 11 If yes so why, give the reasons [yes/no]
- 12 Do the present job lead to mental / physical tiredness?
Physical tiredness, Mental tiredness
- 13 How much you are satisfied with the present job
Over satisfied, Satisfied, Not satisfied
- 14 If by some reasons you leave this job, then would you like to do the same type of job? [yes/no]
- 15 If no, then what will you do ? search for other type of job, start your own business
- 16 Suppose, If you get same type of job in some distant city at higher salary, will you go for that? [yes/no]
- 17 If no, why?
- 18 How did you get information for this job ?
relatives, advertisement, friend, notice board of the factory, employment exchange, others
- 19 Did anybody help you in getting the present job? [yes/no]
- 20 If yes, state serially
your friends, relatives, kins, private, agency, others
- 21 What qualities a person should have to be a successful in job?
State serially, labour, interest, honesty, personal, contact, cordial relations with officials, others
- 22 What will be the reactions of your friends if you get promotion?
jealous, happy, proud, respect, can not say

- 23 State serially any three of the following professions in order of preference
agriculture, engineering, medical, administrative, academics, business management, legal, chartered accountant, others
- 24 What would you like to purchase if you get twenty five thousand rupees from somewhere? state serially
scooter, colour, television, tape recorder, fridge, land, house, furniture, others
- 25 Please tell, why you want to get the above things?
For social status, need of the life to enjoy life, others
- 26 According to your income, in which group will you keep yourself?
lower income group, medium income group, higher income group
- 27 According to social status, in which group you keep yourself?
lower group, middle group high group
- 28 Do you realise the cast effect on the posts at your workplace?
yes, no, can not say
- 29 Do the selections are done on the posts according to the posts?
yes, no, can not say
- 30 Does the cast of a person affects his social status if he is in his village?
yes, no, can not say
- 31 What is the basis to achieve the respect in city?
money, service, education, family, cast, land, house, others
- 32 On what basis one gets respect in your village?
money, service, education, family, cast, land, house, others
- 33 What will you do if you get fifty thousand rupees in lottery?
spend, save, invest

[2] TRADE UNIONS

- 34 Are you member of any trade union? [yes/no]
- 35 If yes, then
Name, Duration of membership, designation, others
- 36 How did you get membership of union?
- 37 What kind of member ,of the union, you are?
active, silent, general
- 38 In what capacity you are related with he union?
as a member, as a worker
- 39 Do you participate in the meetings of the union?
regularly, ocassionly, rarely, never
- 40 How do you select the leaders of your union?
by election, by nomination
- 41 If your leaders are elected then have you ever voted? [Yes/No]
- 42 If no, then give reasons?
- 43 What functions do you think should the union perform?
Enhance wages, Good service conditions, Participation in management Solve
work related issues, Any other
- 44 Do the union leaders consider member's problems? [Yes/No]
- 45 If yes, then with what feeling?
Considerate, Enthusiastically, Indifferent
- 46 Have they ever helped in solving your problems? [Yes/No]

- 47 If yes, then what did they do?
- 48 If not, then what did you do ?
- 49 Do you think your union is associated to any political party? [Yes/No]
- 50 If yes, then which one?
- 51 Have you ever participated in any strike/demonstration called by your union?
Yes, No, Can't tell
- 52 If yes, please elaborate

[3] LEISURE ACTIVITIES

- 53 What do you do on your holidays?
- 54 Are you a member of any club?
- 55 If yes then specify
No, Name of the club, Address, Your position in the club
- 56 In how many club meetings have you participated in the last one year?
- 57 What games are you interested in?
- 58 Do you read the newspaper daily?
- 59 If yes, then in which language?
- 60 Do you go to the cinema hall?
- 61 If yes, then
When, With whom
- 62 Do you listen to the radio?
- 63 If yes, then which is your favourite program?

- 64 Do you, watch T V?
- 65 If yes then which is favourite program?
- 66 Do you read novels?
- 67 If yes, then in which language?
- 68 Specify your main interests?
- 69 How do you spend your free time?

[4] ASPIRATION FOR CHILDREN

- 70 Do you want to educate your children?
- 71 What do you want your children to become?
Education, Professional, Aspiration, Son, Daughter
- 72 Are you making any efforts to this end?
- 73 If no, then specify why?

[5] LIFE CHANCES

- 74 Have you ever been influenced by any member of your family?
- 75 If yes, then specify whose and of what type?
Personality, Way of working, Character, Living style, Discipline, Professional choice, All
- 76 Do you think that your father's or guardian's social standing has helped you in your progress?
- 77 If yes then specify

- 78 Do you think that your father's or guardian's economic standing has helped in your progress?
- 79 If yes, then specify
- 80 If you had been born in any other family do you think it would have affected your social standing?
Yes, No, Can't say
- 81 If yes, then why and of what kind? Specify
- 82 Did you have any idol?
If yes, then who was he/she?, If yes then specify why was he your idol?
- 83 "Everyone needs help to succeed in life" Do you agree with this?
Absolutely, Somewhat, Not at all
- 84 It is said that an opportunity comes but once Do you agree with this
Absolutely, Somewhat, Not at all
- 85 Has anyone's character affected you deeply?
- 86 If yes, then how? Specify
- 87 Did you ever get a golden opportunity in your life?
- 88 If yes, then of what kind?

[6] PERSONAL DETAILS

- 89 Age
- 90 Caste
- 91 Religion
- 92 Marital status Married, Unmarried, Deserted, Widower

93 Academic qualifications

Uneducated, 8th pass, 10th pass, 12th pass, Graduate, Diploma, Apprentice, Other

94 Which school did you study in?

Public school, Private school, Municipal school, Other

95 After finishing your studies at what age did you start working?

[7] FAMILY DETAILS

96 No Father, Mother, Brother, Sister

1 Education

2 Profession

3 Income

97 How many members does your family have?

98 Are you satisfied with your financial status?

99 If not, then why?

100 In which class do you think you belong to? Specify

101 Which class do your close friends belong to?

102 Do you feel comfortable amongst people belonging to different classes

103 If not, then what makes you uncomfortable?

104 Do you feel that your father/mother were better off than yourself?

105 If yes, then elaborate? Yourself, Father, Mother, No difference

1 Economically

2 Social standing

3 Job sphere

4 Health

- 5 Knowledge
 - 6 Success opportunities
 - 7 Any other
- 106 Do you feel that everyone has equal opportunities to succeed in life today?
Yes, No, Can't say
- 107 If no, then why?
- 108 In your opinion which of the following facilitate in progress
Very Imp, Imp, Not at all Imp
- 1 Education
 - 2 Good qualities
 - 3 Parent's position
 - 4 Useful contacts
 - 5 Opportunities
 - 6 Good health
 - 7 Diligence/Honesty
 - 8 Attractive personality
 - 9 Any other

APPENDIX B

A Index of Respondents Income

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Scores Obtained</i>	<i>Frequencies</i>
	<i>(Points assigned)</i>	
<i>Low</i>	<i>between 1 – 2</i>	113
<i>(Rs 1 to Rs 2000)</i>		
<i>Medium</i>	3	155
<i>(Between Rs 2001 to Rs 4000)</i>		
<i>High</i>	<i>between 4 – 5</i>	32
<i>(between Rs 4001 to 6500)</i>		

N=300

B Index of Respondents Education

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Scores Obtained</i> <i>(Points assigned)</i>	<i>Frequencies</i>
<i>Low</i>	<i>between 1 – 2</i>	<i>124</i>
<i>(upto 8 years of formal education)</i>		
<i>Medium</i>	<i>3 – 4</i>	<i>123</i>
<i>(More than 8years but less than 12 years of formal education)</i>		
<i>High</i>	<i>between 5 – 6</i>	<i>53</i>
<i>(more than 12 years of formal education)</i>		

N=300

C Index of Respondents Occupation

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Points assigned</i>
<i>Low</i>	<i>Unskilled industrial workers viz peon, messenger etc</i>	<i>1 – 2</i>
<i>Medium</i>	<i>Semi skilled workers viz office worker, drivers, foreman, etc</i>	<i>3 – 5</i> <i>3 – 5</i>
<i>High</i>	<i>Skilled workers viz supervisor etc</i>	<i>6 – 7</i>

N=300

D Index of Caste Ranking

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Frequencies</i>
<i>Low</i> <i>(Balmiki,</i> <i>Chamar,</i> <i>Pasi,</i> <i>Gaderia,</i> <i>Dom, Kori,</i> <i>Kevat)</i>	1 – 3	113
<i>Medium</i> <i>(Badhar,</i> <i>Yadav Kurmi,</i> <i>Vishvakarma, Nai,</i> <i>Kushwaha, Kumhar)</i>	4 – 5	65
<i>High</i> <i>(Kayastha, Rajput,</i> <i>Chauhan,</i> <i>Khatri, Brahmin)</i>	6 – 7	122

N=300

E Levels of Aspiration

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Scores Obtained</i> <i>(Points assigned)</i>	<i>Frequencies</i>
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<i>Low</i>	<i>between 1 – 3</i>	98
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<i>Medium</i>	<i>between 4 – 6</i>	154
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<i>High</i>	<i>between 7 – 8</i>	48
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N=300

F Levels of Commitment

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Scores Obtained</i> <i>(Points assigned)</i>	<i>Frequencies</i>
<i>Low</i> <i>(Reluctant)</i>	<i>between 0 – 1</i>	116
<i>Medium</i> <i>(Devoted)</i>	<i>between 2 – 3</i>	167
<i>High</i> <i>(Consecrated)</i>	<i>between 4 – 5</i>	17

N=300

G Levels of Life-chances

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Scores Obtained</i> <i>(Points assigned)</i>	<i>Frequencies</i>
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<i>Low</i>	<i>between 0 – 1</i>	45
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<i>Medium</i>	<i>between 2 – 3</i>	201
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<i>High</i>	<i>between 4 – 5</i>	54
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N=300

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, KANPUR

Department of Humanities and Social Sciences

We wish to inform you that some information has to be collected from different functionaries of your organisation. This is going to be an academic exercise and all the collected information will be kept confidential. Therefore, your help and co-operation are solicited.

Thank you,

Raka Sharan
(Dr. Raka Sharan) 3/8/95

(Thesis Supervisor)

(9) OCCUPATIONAL DETAILS

१. पूर्व जीकरी का विवरण ;

क्र.सं.	कार्य का रूप	पद का नाम	स्थान	अस्थायी	कार्यस्थान	आव	छोड़ने का कारण
१							
२							
३							

(२) वर्तमान कोयली में सुविधार्थ

પુરૂદી	રંશ્યારેસ	ફંડ	બોનસ	ક્ષત્તા	વિશિષ્ટ કર્જ	અન્ય
આયરિમક				લક્ષ્યો	વાહન હેતુ	
અર્જિત				યાત્રા	શાદી હેતુ	
મેડિકલ				વાહન	બીમારી હેતુ	
LTC/HTC				યૂનીફર્મ	મકાન હેતુ	
અન્ય				અન્ય	અન્ય	

3. कुछ बातें किसी भी काम / गोपनी के लिए महत्वपूर्ण मानी जाती हैं जैसे सुविधायें, स्वतन्त्रता इत्यादि। निम्न लिखित बातों में से आप किसे प्रमुखता देते हैं क्रमानुसार बताइये -

- | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| १. सुरक्षा | २. कार्य स्वतन्त्रता | ३. कार्य विविधता |
| ४. सुविधार्थ | ४. मृदु व्यवहार | ६. पैसा |
| ७. प्रोन्नति के अवसर | ८. कार्यशील बुनियाद | ९. कार्य वातावरण |
| १०. अन्य | | |

(४) क्या वर्तमान नीकरी आपके विचारानुकूल है ? हाँ/नहीं

(५) वर्तमान नौकरी में आने से पूर्व क्या आपने सोचा था कि आप किस प्रकार की नौकरी करना चाहेंगे ? हाँ/गहरी/बता गहरी सकते

(६) आपकी शैक्षणिक योग्यताओं और अभुभव को क्या काम में रखते हुए क्या आप अपनी वर्तमान नोकरी में आजीवन रहना चाहते हैं ? हाँ/नहीं

1 (०) का रण रणत करे ।

(८) क्या आप शिफ्ट में काम करते हैं ?

हाँ/नहीं

(९) यदि हाँ, तो किस शिफ्ट में काम करना पसन्द करते हैं ?

(१) पहली (२) दूसरी (३) तीसरी

(१०) क्या आप ओवर टाइम करना पसन्द करते हैं ?

हाँ/नहीं

(११) यदि हाँ तो क्यों, कारण बतायें -

(१२) वर्तमान नोकरी क्या शारीरिक/मानसिक थकावट वाली है ?

१. शारीरिक थकावट वाली

२. मानसिक थकावट वाली

(१३) वर्तमान कार्य से आप कितने संतुष्ट हैं ?

१. अत्यधिक संतुष्ट २. संतुष्ट ३. असंतुष्ट

(१४) यदि किसी कारणवश आपकी वर्तमान नोकरी छूट जाये, तब आप क्या उसी प्रकार की नोकरी करना चाहेंगे ?

हाँ/नहीं

(१५) यदि नहीं, तो क्या करेंगे ?

१. दूसरे प्रकार की नोकरी खोजेंगे

२. अपना व्यवसाय प्रारम्भ करेंगे

(१६) मान लीजिए इसी प्रकार की नोकरी किसी दूर के शहर में ज्यादा तनख्वाह के साथ मिले, तो क्या आप जाना चाहेंगे ?

हाँ/नहीं

(१७) यदि नहीं, तो कारण बतायें-

(१८) आपको इस नोकरी की सूचना कैसे मिली थी ?

रिश्तेदार/हस्तहार/दोरत/फैक्ट्री

का नोटिस बोर्ड/रोजगार दफ्तर/अन्य

(१९) वर्तमान नोकरी के पाने में आपको किसी ने मदद दी थी ?

हाँ/नहीं

- (१०) यदि हों तो क्रमानुसार बतायें
- आपके दोस्त/रिश्तेदार/
बिरादरी/प्राइवेट एजेंसी/
अन्य
- (११) नौकरी में सफल होने के लिए व्यक्ति में
कौन-कौन सा गुण होना चाहिए ? क्रमानुसार
अंकित करें -
- मेहनत/लगन/ईमानदारी/
व्यक्तिगत सम्पर्क/अधिकारियों
से मृदु सम्बन्ध/अन्य
- (१२) यदि आपको पदोन्नति मिलती है, तो आपके
साथियों की क्या प्रतिक्रिया होगी ?
- ईर्ष्यापूर्ण/प्रसन्नतापूर्ण/
गोस्वान्धित/आदरपूर्ण/
बता नहीं सकते
- (१३) वरीयता के आधार पर निम्न व्यवसायों में से
किसी तीन को क्रमानुसार बतायें ?
- खेती/इंजीनियरिंग/ड्राफ्टरी/
प्रशासनिक सेवाएँ/शैक्षणिक
सेवाएँ/व्यापार/प्रबन्धन/
उकालत/चार्टर्ड एकाउन्टेन्ट/
अन्य
- (१४) यदि आपको कभी से पच्चीस हजार रुपया
मिल जाये तो आप क्या खरीदना चाहेंगे ?
क्रमानुसार बतायें -
- रकूत/संगीत टी वी/टेप
रिकार्डर/फ्रिज/स्वैत/मकान/
फर्नीचर/अन्य
- (१५) कृपया यह बतायें कि उपरोक्त वस्तुएँ आप
क्यों पाना चाहते हैं ?
- सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा के लिए/
जीवन की आवश्यकता है/
जीवन का आनन्द उठाने के
लिए/अन्य
- (१६) अपनी आय के अनुसार आप अपने को
किस वर्ग में रखेंगे ?
- निम्न वर्ग में/मध्यम वर्ग में/
उच्च वर्ग में ।
- (१७) सामाजिक स्थिति के अनुसार आप अपने को
किस वर्ग में रखते हैं ?
- निम्न वर्ग में/मध्यम वर्ग में/
उच्च वर्ग में ।
- (१८) क्या स्थल पर क्या आपको महसूस होता है
कि पदों पर जाति का प्रभाव पड़ता है ?
- पड़ता है/नहीं पड़ता है/
बता नहीं सकते ।

- (२९) क्या जाति के अनुत्तर पदों पर चयन होता है ? हाँ/नहीं/बता नहीं सकते
- (३०) यदि कोई व्यक्ति अपने गांव में हो तो उसकी जाति का असर उसकी सामाजिक स्थिति पर पड़ता है ? पड़ता है/नहीं पड़ता है/बता नहीं सकते ।
- (३१) शहर में सम्मान प्राप्त करने का आधार क्या होता है, क्रमानुसार अंकित करें ? पैसा/नौकरी/शिक्षा/परिवार/जाति/जमीन/मकान/अन्य
- (३२) आपके गांव में किसी को सम्मान किस आधार पर मिलता है ? पैसा/नौकरी/शिक्षा/परिवार/जाति/जमीन/मकान/अन्य
- (३३) यदि लाटरी में आपको पचास हजार रुपया मिल जाये तो आप क्या करेंगे ? खर्च करेंगे/जमा करेंगे/इन्वेस्ट करेंगे

II. TRADE UNION

- (१४) क्या आप किसी ट्रेड यूनियन के सदस्य हैं ? हाँ/नहीं
- (२५) यदि हाँ तो -

नाम	सदस्यता की अवधि	हैसियत	अन्य

(३६) आपको यूनियन की सदस्यता कैसे मिली ?

- (३७) आप यूनियन के कैसे सदस्य हैं ? सक्रिय/मूक/सामान्य
- (३८) आप किस हैसियत से यूनियन से सम्बद्ध हैं ? सदस्य के रूप में / कार्यकर्ता के रूप में ।
- (३९) आप यूनियन की सभाओं में भाग लेते हैं ? नियमित रूप से/कभी-कभी शायद ही कभी/ कभी नहीं
- (४०) आप अपने यूनियन के नेताओं का चयन कैसे करते हैं ? चुनाव द्वारा/मनोनयन द्वारा

(४१) यदि चुनाव द्वारा आपके नेता का चयन होता है -तो आपने क्या कभी वोट डाला है ?

हाँ/नहीं

(४२) यदि नहीं, तो कारण बताये

(४३) आपके विचारानुसार यूनियन के क्या कार्य होने चाहिए ?

वैतन वृद्धि/अच्छी सेवा शर्त/प्रबन्धन में भागीदारी/कार्य सम्बन्धी समस्याओं को सुलझाना/अन्य कोई

(४४) यूनियन के नेता लोग बैठक में क्या सदस्यों की समस्या पर विचार करते हैं ?

हाँ/नहीं

(४५) यदि करते हैं तो किस भावना के साथ ?

सहानुभूतिपूर्वक/निर्विकार/उत्सहित

(४६) क्या उन्होंने आपकी समस्या को सुलझाने में कभी कुछ मदद की ?

हाँ/नहीं

(४७) यदि हाँ तो उन्होंने क्या किया ?

(४८) यदि नहीं तो, आपने क्या किया ?

(४९) क्या आप समझते हैं कि आपका यूनियन किसी राजनीतिक संगठन से जुड़ा है ?

हाँ/नहीं/बता नहीं सकते

(५०) यदि हाँ, तो नाम बतायें।

(५१) क्या आपको कभी अपने यूनियन द्वारा की गयी आश्वासन पर किसी छद्मता/धरना इत्यादि में भाग लिया है ?

हाँ/नहीं/बता नहीं सकते

३२) यदि हाँ तो कृपया जानकारी दें-

चक्रवाक	धरना	प्रतिक्रिया	परिणाम	कारण
समय	अवधि	सरकार	नियोजक	

III. LEISURE ACTIVITIES

(५३) आप छुट्टी के दिन क्या करते हैं ?

(५४) आप क्या किसी क्लब के सदस्य हैं ?

(५५) यदि हाँ तो बताइये

क्रम	क्लब का नाम	क्लब का पता	क्लब में आपकी हैसियत

(५६) पिछले एक वर्ष में आपने अपनी सस्था(क्लब) की कितनी सभाओं में हिस्सा लिया ?

(५७) आप कौन-कौन खेलों में रुचि रखते हैं ?

(५८) क्या आप प्रत्येक दिन अखबार पढ़ते हैं ? हाँ/नहीं

(५९) यदि हाँ तो किस भाषा में ?

(६०) आप सिनेमा जाते हैं हाँ/नहीं

(६१) यदि हाँ, तो

१. कब	२.१. अकेले
२. किसके साथ	२.२. मित्रों के साथ
	२.३. परिवार के साथ

(६२) आप रेडियो सुनते हैं हाँ/नहीं

(६३) यदि हाँ, तो आपकी रुचि का कार्यक्रम कौन सा है ?

(६४) आप टी वी. देखते हैं ? हाँ/नहीं

(६५) यदि हाँ तो आपके पिय कार्यक्रम कौन से हैं ?

(६६) क्या आप उपन्यास पढ़ते हैं ? हाँ/नहीं

(६७) यदि हाँ तो किस भाषा में ?

(६८) स्पष्ट करें, क्या आपका कोई विशिष्ट शोक है ?

(६९) आप खाली समय कैसे व्यतीत करते हैं ?

IV. ASPIRATION FOR CHILDREN

(७०) क्या आप अपने बच्चों को शिक्षा दिलाना चाहते हैं ? हाँ/नहीं

(७१) आप अपने पुत्र/पुत्री को क्या बढाना चाहते हैं ?

	शिक्षा	व्यवसाय	डॉक्टर	इंजीनियर	शिक्षक	प्रशासनिक	व्यवसाय
	आकांक्षा					अधिकारी	
पुत्र							
पुत्री							

(७२) क्या आप उसके अनुरूप पर्याप्त प्रयास कर रहे हैं ? हाँ/नहीं

(७३) यदि नहीं तो कारण स्पष्ट कीजिए ।

V. LIFE CHANCES

(७४) क्या आप कभी अपने परिवार के किसी सदस्य हाँ/नहीं
प्रभावित हुए थे ?

(७५) यदि हाँ तो स्पष्ट करें कि वह प्रभाव किसका और किस प्रकार का था ?

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| १. व्यक्तित्व का | २. कार्य प्रक्रिया का | ३. आचरण का |
| ४. रहन सहन का | ५. अनुशासन का | ६. सबों का |
| ७. व्यवसायिक अभिरूपा का | ८. अन्य | |

(७६) क्या आप समझते हैं कि आपके पिता या अभिभावक की सामाजिक स्थिति आपकी
उन्नति में किसी प्रकार से सहायक सिद्ध हुई ? हाँ/नहीं

(७७) यदि हाँ तो स्पष्ट करें ।

- (७८) क्या आप समझते हैं कि आपके पिता या अभिभावक की आर्थिक स्थिति आपकी उन्नति में किसी प्रकार से सहायक सिद्ध हुई ?
हाँ/नहीं
- (७९) यदि हाँ तो स्पष्ट करें ।
- (८०) मान लीजिए, आप किसी दूसरे परिवार में जन्म लेते तो क्या आपकी सामाजिक स्थिति में कोई फर्क पड़ता ?
हाँ/नहीं/बता नहीं सकते
- (८१) यदि हाँ, तो क्यों और किस प्रकार का ? स्पष्ट करें ।
- (८२) क्या आप पर किसी व्यक्ति के व्यक्तित्व का गहरा प्रभाव पड़ा है ?
हाँ/नहीं
- (८३) यदि हाँ तो, किस प्रकार का ? स्पष्ट करें ।
- (८४) क्या आपका कोई आदर्श व्यक्ति था ?
हाँ/नहीं
- १ यदि हाँ, तो क्यों है ?
- २ यदि हाँ, तो स्पष्ट करें वह आपका आदर्श क्यों बना ?
- (८५) जिन्दगी में हर व्यक्ति को ऊपर चढ़ने के लिए किसी सहारे की आवश्यकता पड़ती है आप इस कथन से कहीं तक सहमत हैं ?
पूर्णतया/कुछ-कुछ/बिल्कुल नहीं
- (८६) कहा जाता है कि अवसर बार-बार नहीं आता । आप इस कथन से कहीं तक सहमत हैं ?
पूर्णतया/कुछ कुछ/असहमत
- (८७) क्या जीवन में सुअवसर आपको भी मिला था ?
हाँ/नहीं
- (८८) यदि हाँ, तो किस प्रकार का ? वर्णन करें ।

- (८९) आयु (९०) जाति (९१) धर्म

(९३) शैक्षणिक योग्यताएँ :

क्रम.	गिराईर	८ पास	१० पास	१२ पास	स्नातक	डिप्लोमा	अपरेटिस	अन्य
१								

(९४) आपने किस स्कूल में शिक्षा पाई है ? पब्लिक स्कूल/प्राइवेट स्कूल/
म्यूनिसिपल स्कूल/अन्य

(९५) पढ़ाई समाप्त करने के बाद आपने पहली नौकरी किस उम्र में प्रारम्भ की थी ?

VII FAMILY DETAILS

क्रम	पिता	माता	भाई	बहन
१ शिक्षा				
२ व्यवसाय				
३ आय				

(९६) आपके परिवार के कुल सदस्यों की संख्या कितनी है ?

(९७) क्या आप अपनी सामाजिक स्थिति से सन्तुष्ट हैं ?

हाँ/नहीं

(९८) यदि नहीं तो कारण स्पष्ट करें ।

(९९) आप अपने को किसी वर्ग विशेष में रखेंगे ? स्पष्ट करें ।

(१००) अपने निकटतम मित्रों को किस वर्ग में रखेंगे ।

(१०१) क्या विभिन्न वर्गों के लोगों के बीच आप अपने को सहज पाते हैं ?

हाँ/नहीं

(१०२) यदि नहीं तो आपको असुविधाजनक क्या बातें लगती हैं ?

(१०३) जब आप अपनी तुलना अपने माता/पिता से करते हैं तो क्या आपको लगता है कि वे आपसे अच्छी रिश्ते में थे ?

हाँ/नहीं

(१०४) यदि हूँ तो स्पष्ट करें।

	रवय	माता/पिता	कोई अन्तर नहीं
१. आर्थिक रूप में	१	२	३
२. सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा में	१	२	३
३. कार्य क्षेत्र में	१	२	३
४. सेहत/स्वास्थ्य में	१	२	३
५. जागकारी में	१	२	३
६. आगे बढ़ने के अवसर में	१	२	३
७. अन्य	१	२	३

(१०५) क्या आपको लगता है कि आजकल सबों को आगे बढ़ने (उन्नति करने) का समान अवसर मिल रहा है ?

हैं/नहीं/बता नहीं सकते

(१०६) यदि नहीं तो कारण बतायें।

(१०७) आपके विचारानुसार, व्यक्तियों की प्रोन्नति में अधोलिखित बातों से मदद मिलती है ?

	बहुत जरूरी	जरूरी	बिल्कुल जरूरी
१. अधिक शिक्षा	१	२	३
२. सद्गुण	१	२	३
३. अभिभावक की रीति	१	२	३
४. उपयोगी सम्पर्क	१	२	३
५. स्रुअवसर	१	२	३
६. अच्छा स्वास्थ्य	१	२	३
७. मेहनत/इमानदारी	१	२	३
८. आकर्षक व्यक्तित्व	१	२	३
९. अन्य कुछ	१	२	३

APPENDICES

APPENDIX - A

Literature - Survey

Studies conducted in India

The current literature on social behavior in industrial organizations confines primarily to social relations within organizations as well as social and cultural forces outside organizations. The point of departure for the sociologists' interest in organizations was provided by the assumption that modern industrial, educational and other formal organizations were a product of an industrial culture of the west which was incompatible with the traditional Indian culture. Initially many scholars diverted their energies in examining the roles of traditional bonds of caste, kinship, village, agriculture and religion in influencing people's behavior and performance at work. Prabhu (1956), Nichoff (1964), Lambert (1963) and Subrahmaniam (1971) studied the social and cultural characteristics of the people managing the organizations. Behavior patterns, attitudes of people in relation to work and work organizations and interactions between work roles and social roles were studied at length by Lambert (1963), Vaid (1968), Sharma (1974) and Sharan (1978).

The pioneering works in India are of Sheth (1968), Rice (1958), Holmstrom (1978), Ramaswamy (1977) and Lambert (1963). Their main interests were in the area of social structure, social change and industrial conflict of the organizations. Ramaswamy (1977) studied the trade unions and workers in Coimbatore and brought out the pervasive influence of the idioms of traditional Indian culture on the spectrum of labour management interactions. Mamkootam (1982) studied trade unionism in TISCO. He analyzed the power of conflict within organizations objectively. Studies related to industrial work are significant in number. Problems of performance such as absenteeism, discipline, shift work, and productivity were undertaken by Srinivasan (1964) and Sharma (1970). An altogether different stream of organizational studies covered socio-psychological process such as leadership, communication, decision making, motivation etc were carried out by Choudhary (1970), Basu (1972), Patel (1970), D'Souza (1976), Sinha (1979). These studies were mainly conducted to identify leadership styles, communication patterns, and motivational strategies to attain performance-related objectives within organizations. Singer (1972), Holmstrom (1978) studied the behavior and attitudes of the workers and managers in South India. Holmstrom drew the attention to the differentiation between the organized and unorganized sectors of the working class. He examined workers' attitudes to work and their concept of career in industry. He dwelt on the life in an urban community in relation to the force of traditional institutions. Rice (1958) studied the problems and conflicts in an industrial organization in Gujarat. Punekar (1948), Giri (1958), Sharma (1963), Mathur (1961), Johari (1967)

have attempted to study the emergence and growth of trade unionism in India Vaid (1967) and Sharma (1974) examined the problems of recruitment and commitment of the workers to their jobs Sharan (1978) studied the trends of embourgeoisement setting among the working class industrial and non- industrial women workers of Kanpur

Holmstorm (1994) studied the small and medium enterprises in Bangalore who worked for larger firms but developed their own products The author opined that inspite of numerous obstacles, innovation takes place within the enterprise in order to create a niche in the market with regard to product and the enterprise Pandey (1994) examined the role of conflict with relation to age, tenure, job involvement and role efficacy within an organization He based his findings on the study of mid level managers in four organizations in India Chaddha (1994) studied the industrial workers and concluded that regulation of industrial relations is necessary in the present situation He opined that modern industrial workers are alienated from employers, and are increasingly subject to the complex economic and social relationships over which they have no control The need for regulation of industrial relations is greatest in developing countries like India, where financial hardships are prevalent and labour movements have not yet developed into effective instruments for combating management abuses or rectifying worker dissatisfaction Pandey (1994) postulated a theoretical framework, which emphasizes the utility of indigenous theory of organizations for the study of Indian industrial organizations He further opined that nation specific theories should be developed and promoted to have a broad comprehension of organizations rather than borrowing the theories from abroad, which may not be ideally applicable to Indian conditions Mathur (1994) expressed his skepticism about the future of trade unionism in India, which has witnessed declining membership, political clout, and tactical strength He opined that due to mixed economy in the country, India has developed several forms of unions This fragmentation, coupled with a shrinking base, makes collective mobilization unlikely The future of unions in India depends on broadened objectives that seek the well being of all working people Mishra (1990) opined that a new generation of workers characterized by individualism, non traditionalism and greater awareness will emerge in India and pose new types of problems for the personnel managers in the years to come Srivastava and Mishra (1988) explored how regional development could be achieved through development of entrepreneurship Agarwala (1989) examined the leader-follower relationship within a large Indian industrial organization viz Bhilai Steel Plant studying how workers perceive leaders' behavior pattern and working styles

In India, studies focussing on the recruitment patterns were conducted as early as 1924 (Broughton, 1924). He studied the pitiable condition of the industrial workers employed in the textile industries in Bombay. Industrial workers were lured into the jobs by the jobbers also known as *mukadams* or *sirdars* who were often the men employers trusted and who had contacts in the villages, where they went in search of men who could be persuaded to sign a legally binding contract of employment (Broughton 1924). Subsequent studies showed that jobbers category was the highest to which an industrial worker could rise (Mukherji 1951). Burnett-Hurst (1925) studied the filthy slums where mill and dock owners lived. Kelman studied the mill workers' chawls and wrote in detail about the conditions in which their wives and children lived (1923). Report of the Royal Commission of Labor in India also provides a great deal of primary information about the industrial workers of India (Royal Commission 1931). Patel (1963) attempted to study the transformation of the floating migrant population into permanent residents of Bombay. He covered a slightly different aspect. According to him the industrial workers brought their families whenever they could afford to maintain them and educate their offspring's who could later become ingredients of literate class of workers.

There are some other historical studies pertaining to the formation of the Calcutta's workforce in textile industry (Dasgupta 1976, Gupta 1974). Lubell studied the migration trends of industrial workforce (1974). N K Bose (1965) conducted a major study of ethnic clustering in Calcutta city. Bhattacharya conducted an identical study on the jute workers in Calcutta and concluded that 75 per cent of a sample of jute workers were Hindi or Urdu speakers, 78 per cent had their own house in rural areas and 86 per cent were born there.

Few comprehensive studies were conducted on Kanpur industrial work force. Kanpur became prominent in the late nineteenth century as a prime centre for cotton and wool textiles and leather goods having a sizeable population of *chamars* (Nichoff 1959). Margaret Read (1927) also studied the miserable living conditions of the mill workers of Kanpur. In the opinion of the author, the mill workers of Kanpur were uprooted and lost among the strangers in the city. Wiser (1922), Nichoff (1959) studied the living conditions of industrial workers in Kanpur.

Papola and Subrahmanian (1975) studied the wage structure and labour mobility in the Ahmedabad textile industries. Down in the South India, End Perlm (1979) did a pioneering work using mill landowners as historical sources to study the human experience of

industrial life in Coimbatore. She presented the working and living conditions of industrial work force. The conditions of industrial work force was also given attention by Parthasarthy (1958) where he studied the role of caste in industrial recruitment. Madras's industrial and non-industrial workers were also subject of concern to Revri (1972) and Hafner (1978) whose vivid descriptions of the industrial workers and their work life is presented in their findings.

Lambert studied the factory and the workers of Poona. His study was confined to five factories in Poona. His work is considered to be of outstanding nature in the field of industrial sociology. His major contention was that factory employment was not bringing about transformation of attitudes and social relations, which are envisaged in the theories of modernization. According to him, the workers are rooted in their traditional culture. They regard their factory jobs as a property rather than as a challenge or a career (1963). According to him, the workers of Poona were more interested in acquiring permanent property rights in a job and minimal quality of performance and lacked internalized drive for enhanced productivity.

Sheth's contribution was yet another outstanding and pioneering work in the field of industrial sociology. He studied the workers and managers in the Oriental factory in Gujrat. The general picture portrayed by him is of conservative status conscious workers who take particularistic norms of obligation to caste and kin as the criteria for recruitment and promotion and are bound by personal obligations to the management (1968).

Much of the literature is available on small-scale enterprises (Lynch 1969). Anita Abraham (1979) studied the South Indian labourers engaged in ragspicking in Bombay (Dharavi). Sudhendu Mukherji (1975) studied the Calcutta pavement dwellers, Anil Achavat (1978) studied the appalling conditions of the workers engaged in the bidi factories in Karnataka. Many studies were conducted during the 70s in which focus was put on the broad spectrum of the society from which industrial personnel were drawn. Their family background, educational qualification, technical proficiencies, values and ethics have been studied (Dhingra and Pathak 1972, Jain 1986, Saiyadin and Monappa 1977, Subrahmanian 1971). A decade later, issues such as work ethics and work culture was exclusively studied by Sinha (1985). At a particular time in the history of social sciences, many scholars have taken up issues that were not specific in nature. Khandawalla (1987) made a systematic study of work organizations in which they were assumed to take developmental role in the society. These required many actions such as going to an industrially backward area for generating economic activities with a view to help to develop adequate infrastructure and to further stimulate industrial activities in the long run, subjugating economic goals such as productivity, profit, efficiency and work discipline, generating employment and

from its traditionally insular and self-reliant stance (1999). With the advent of new technologies, a paradigm shift has taken place in the industrial scenario. He is of the view that in order to conduct business globally, one has to thrive on these issues afresh. Kar and Tiwari (1999) studied the impact and components of organizational culture (OC) as antecedents of Organizational Citizenship Behaviour (OCB) as a whole. They drew their sample from 400 respondents and two manufacturing units. They came up with a conclusion that there exists a causal relationship between components of OC and OCB along with other dimensions. Pandey (1998) studied the gender dimension of migrant labour in Maharashtra. She studied two types of migrant workers (temporary (seasonal) and permanent) and analyzed the coping strategies and employment patterns of female migrants in the light of changing socio-economic order. Nazir (1998) studied the overall job satisfaction of the personnel employed in the banking sector and identified some determinants of the job satisfaction and evaluated the perceived importance of some jobs and background factors on their overall job satisfaction. He drew his data from 245 bank clerks of private banks in J&K and concluded that employees perceive various job factors as source of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. He concluded that barring income and level of education, no other personal factor was found to be related to the overall job satisfaction of the modal respondents. Sharma (1998) took up the issue of organizational socialization for enhancing productivity in any organization. He opined that the modern industrial society is preoccupied with wages, salaries and dividends and often forgets that job has more important purposes to serve in the form of satisfaction of needs, fellowships and development of human personality. He was of the opinion that organizational socialization will be a step forward in this regard.

Studies conducted Abroad

The first systematic attempt to study the conditions at work before the Industrial Revolution was done by Bernardino Ramazzini entitled *Diseases of Tradesmen* in 1700 A.D. In that book he described the sickness among the washerwomen and metal diggers. In the post industrial era, Engels and Marx (1973) studied the consequences of industrial revolution and its impact on the working class. They concluded that industrial revolution resulted in the dislocation of the workers. Taylor (1947) was the first to make a systematic study of industrial work. Mayo (1949) studied the problems of labour turnover in industrial organizations. Later studies undertaken by scholars studied the conflict which arose between the norms and values of the traditional societies and industrial civilizations (Moore 1951, Kerr 1960). Goldthorpe et al (1982) studied the aspirations, political affiliations and voting behavior of the industrial workers.

Myers (1958), Moore and Feldman (1960) have studied the recruitment process and the commitment of the industrial workers

Bastein et al (1995) have analyzed the climate in which organization functions have become a popular subject. Banking on the structuration theory of Giddens, the authors have tested the viability of the theory in reference to employee relations within an organization. Their findings reveal that climate plays a pivotal role in influencing the organizational life, particularly the achievement levels of the employees. Goss and Lindquist (1995) have applied the theory of structuration to international labour migration, using case study material from Philippines. Authors conclude that structuration is eminently suited for further research on international migration. In yet another study by Iverson (1996) a model that predicts the acceptance of organizational change from a large public hospital in Victoria in Australia has been tested. The author came out with the finding that employee acceptance of organizational change is increased by organizational commitment, harmonious industrial relations, education and job motivation, job satisfaction and job security. On the other hand, union membership, role conflict, tenure and environmental opportunities decrease job change in organizational setting. The author argued that organizational commitment acts both as a determinant and mediator in the change process. Sivesind (1995) analyzed job-related attitudes and values among industrial workers in two different factories located in two different countries. The two countries were Germany and Norway. He found that German workers were more professional in their work, reported more autonomy, better opportunities for self-realization and higher job satisfaction. On the contrary, the Norwegian workers were concerned more about equality and social aspects of work. They had close relationships with their superiors and had more friends at work place. They valued friendly mates more than high pay. This study emphasized that cultural factors had an important effect, which was not reducible to institutional or structural differences. The interplay between these factors cannot be ignored in the explanation of differences in the understanding of work or in the structure and functioning of economic organization in different countries. Holmstorm (1989) studied the workers cooperatives in Emilia Romagna the Italian region which presents the best example of flexible specialization in organizations.

In the west, many studies have been conducted using the production orientation for examining gender differences. This approach where sexual division of labour was studied in the context of social division of labour is particularly associated with Marxism, but has also been adopted by Weberians who espouse a materialistic approach. The focus of analysis is on the sphere of work or of production.

Many studies in the west have focussed on the issue of organizations and the team - work in them. Teamwork can be regarded as a remedy for the dysfunctions of bureaucratic structures, which are still dominant in organizations. The main characteristic of bureaucracy in organizations is segmentation (Kanter 1983). Kanter studied the strategies of successfully innovating US firms and made a comparison with less successful firms. By segmentation he meant that large problems being cut into sub problems and sub-sub problems. These sub and sub - sub problems are allocated to sub and sub-sub units, which offer solutions. The solutions offered by these units must be assembled to form a meaningful whole. These issues were also dealt by Johnson and Johnson (1991) who were of the view that through team work, individuals face to face interaction, and their awareness in the membership in the groups results in attaining the mutual goals in any organization. The group and the team are regarded as poles of a continuum (Tyson 1989). On the contrary to the finding of these scholars, Frederick W. Taylor (Braverman 1974) the father of scientific management even regarded the group as a threat to productivity in industrial organizations. In his view, workers only want to do little work as possible for the highest possible pay. Braverman (1974) made a Marxist interpretation of the development of work organization from the rise of mass production until the present revolution in information technologies. Roberts (1993) did a research project in three medium sized Dutch firms and made a systematic study of how the management accounting systems could be simplified and made more effective after the introduction of teamwork in the organizations.

Many studies in the west have been conducted to examine the mobility of the workers from developing nations to developed countries. Applevard (1989) studied the international migration of the workers from the developing countries and portrayed the economic plight of developing economies that service the skilled labour needs of developed countries. Barrel and Koch (1991) made an empirical study to investigate the internal mobility patterns of industrial workers. They studied the mobility patterns of Asians, central and South American and European immigrants who entered USA after 1964. Borjas (1988) Funkhouser and Trejo (1995) made an interesting empirical study of the labour market performance of groups that have immigrated to the United States in the late 1980s. Borjas (1992) has further studied the immigration trends of the industrial workers in the USA, Canada and Australia and conducted an enquiry of the US immigration trends before 1980 and the labour market effects on these nations.

Studies abroad have been done in the diverse fields of social sciences. Issues like leadership, decision making in the organization, managerial behavior, industrial conflict, labour relations, motivation and satisfaction, organizational culture etc. impressed the scholars from different perspectives. Rooney (1993) did an empirical work on the effects of workers

participation in the US. He summarizes his data from large-scale survey of employee owned firms in the USA where leaders share power with other employees. Literatures on management behavior and its complexities have been in abundance. Bendix (1956) was of view that managers seek to overcome resistance to their exercise of authority, which is to determine and regulate the behavior of others. He studied the development of managerial ideologies in the UK, USA and Russia. Stewart et al (1994) made a comparative study of managerial behavior in two countries UK and Germany. It compared middle managers behavior and perceptions of their job in three different companies in different industries.

Class conflict and industrial conflict has been a focus of a considerable amount of debate within Sociology of work (Hymen 1972, Batstone et al 1978, Durcan et al 1983, Shorter and Tilly 1974, Cronin 1979, Edwards 1981, Batstone 1985, Jackson 1987). Almost all of these scholars have concentrated upon industrial action and focussed on issues such as strikes, absenteeism, industrial sabotage etc. The underlying reason for industrial unrest and disharmony according to their opinion is social disorganization or breakdown, frustration, communication and conflicting or contradictory interests. Some recent publications have shown their interest in various aspects pertaining to industrial organizations. Milkman (1998), Jwarich(1998), Mumford(1997), Pursor(1996), Nelson(1996), Brown(1997), Guthrie(1996), Stephan (1995), They have, by and large, focussed on aspects like workers' conflicts related to ~~defence~~ races, nature and functioning of trade unions, labour movements and labour relations in developed nations.

Case Studies

1

2

employment the economic condition of his family started improving. This also brought changes in their lifestyles.

3. Sunderlal was working as a driver of the General Manager of a private organization at Kanpur. In his family, his wife was an educated woman who had education up to Intermediate standard. Sunderlal had an ideal family consisting of a son and a daughter. In spite of his meager income and limited resources, he aspired to provide his children good education and wanted them to become engineer and teacher respectively. For his sons' admission in a reputed school, he used his bosses' good offices. Of and on, he used to get favours in kind from the General Manager and his family. His planning for his children's future career, irrespective of his meager means and resources, was not in vacuum only. He informed me that he was constantly saving money for their upbringing and was also investing for some future exigencies. He was confident that this would help his children to attain the desired goals uninterrupted.

4. My respondents of working class mostly had meager resources. Apathy and carelessness marked their day to day living. They were least bothered about the basic needs of their life. Issues like education for the offspring's, health and hygiene for their family were not high on their agenda and priority list. In their opinion, these were trivial issues. In most of the cases, they have a fatalistic feeling pertaining to these issues. Mehar Singh, one of the manual workers, said "Agar bachchon ke bhagya me hoga to padh likh lenge nahi to kya hoga. Jab tak ham jivit hain, tab tak roti inhe milegi. Aage inka bhagya" (If it is in the fate of the children to obtain education, they will obtain, otherwise I will take care of them till I am alive and after that they will be left to their fate). But in most of the cases, their desire to have the luxuries like colour TV and an auto vehicle (either moped or scooter) was very strong. Mehar Singh was a peon in a private sector organization. He obtained his education until primary standard only. He had a big family comprising of

seven members including five daughters and a son. For Mehar Singh the ultimate craze was to have a cable connection in his house. *Saab, bus cable lagvan loon to phir kisi aur cheez ke zarurat nahin hogi* (Once I have a cable connection in my house, after which I really don't need anything for my household). He replied when he was asked about his plans for future. This was unique in itself because cable connection is a costly affair as per his standards and economic conditions. It requires a monthly rent ranging from Rs 75-200 depending upon the number of channels the operator is showing and the city in which it is installed. The installation charges range from Rs 500- 1500 depending upon the distance from the cable operators place and the city. These things are not that easy, keeping into consideration the monetary aspects involved. But the desire to have them so as to have enhanced status in the society makes it important.

5. Laxmi Narian Verma was working as an Assistant Manager in one of the private organizations in Kanpur. His father was a former industrialist. He was 38 years old. Before joining the organization, Mr. Verma obtained his B Tech from a premier institute of the country and subsequently obtained his MBA through correspondence. Mr. Verma was energetic and due to this quality his colleagues liked him. He had one more positive quality that is of taking decisions instantly. His boss Mr. Laxman Prasad was a senior person and was very diligent. But he lacked the ability to take instant decisions. Once the Senior Manager went abroad for technical training for five weeks. The management in his absence decided to delegate the official responsibility of the Senior Manager to Mr. Verma. In this process, Mr. Prasad was bypassed though he had enough experience and was quite senior also. Mr. Prasad could not be delegated to discharge the responsibilities of the Senior Manager in his absence simply because of the fact that it was known to everyone that he lacked the ability to take instant decisions. Mr. Varma was given preference to carry out the responsibility.

These typical cases present the following facts

- 1 Deprivation of land may instill a feeling of status decline in an agricultural set up Case Number 1 denotes that in an agricultural set up like one's land ownership plays a significant role in pushing someone in higher social order The moment one loses a particular type of status, one gets a feeling of deprivation and thereby a feeling of decline in one's status position in social hierarchy The similar feelings of deprivation and anguish were shown in case number 1 The family had status and recognition in own community because of the higher ownership on land they lost that status as well as advantages linked with the status, the moment they became simple industrial workers
- 2 Aspirations are linked with the social context such as work situation Case number 2 and 3 are typical cases to prove the point that educational attainment, material success and exposure have reflections on individuals perception and their social ranking Likewise case number 3 also proves the point that immediate context of work-situation plays a remarkable role in promoting and subsequently achieving aspirational goals
- 3 Promotion of fatalistic attitude may be linked with the social context Case number 4 strengthens our assumption that environment and exposure inculcates fatalistic attitude among individuals

A close examination and perusal of these cases which have been mentioned above proves the occurrence of upward and downward mobility in the class structure due to the fact of life chances This situation is breaking the class boundaries Hence different configuration at the class formation The above cases further prove the point that individual industrial workers do get push from their contexts such as work situation, and market situation for creating a new order It has been observed that the respondents of the study had differential characteristics of the industrial workers who were employed into different types of work organizations and had different kinds of life chances and mental frame All these as a matter of fact provided a link between the mobility orientation among the workers and the organizational climate of the industrial set ups

To answer the observations of the Board members I suggest the following Our empirical findings favor to accept hypotheses number 1,2,3,4,5 and 6 which have been proved Hypothesis 1 is proved by table 5 8, 2 is proved by 6 1, 3 is proved by 6 3

4 is proved by 6.2, 5 is proved by 6.4 and hypothesis 6 is proved by table 6.5. However hypothesis number 7 stating that life chances have inverse relationship with the work organization could not be proved. Instead our empirical data reveals that life-chances have been positively related with the work organizations (Table 7.1 and 7.2).

Table 7.1

Life Chances, Types of Work Organization and types of Industrial workers

Lifechance	Mechanistic			Organic			Grand Total	
	Manual	Non Manual	Total	Manual	Non Manual	Total		
Low	5	9	14	11	20	31	45(15)	
Moderate	36	72	108	45	48	93	201(67)	
High	8	20	28	12	14	26	54(18)	
Total	49	101	150	68	82	150	300(100)	

(Figures denoted in parenthesis denote percentage)

Table 7.1 is a trivariate table which takes into account three variables for discussion. A close look at table 7.1 reveals that in mechanistic organizations the frequency of respondents having high life chances is 28 and those having average life chances is 108. Only 14 respondents in those organizations had low life chances. On the contrary, in organic organizations, 31 respondents had low life chances, 93 were found having moderate and 26 were found to have high life chances. If we further see the aforesaid table, it is evident that in the manual and non-manual category there is a striking difference between the workers of organic and mechanistic types of organizations. In mechanistic organization, only 5 manual workers were found having low lifechance whereas the frequency of non-manual workers in that category was 9. That was comparatively less in comparison to the organic organization where it was 11 and 20 respectively in the manual and non-manual category. Further, it was found that 36 respondents in

the manual category and 72 in the non-manual category had moderate life chances in mechanistic organizations. That was surprisingly less in comparison to organic organizations. In organic organization, their frequency was found to be 45 and 48 respectively in the manual and non-manual category. 8 respondents in the manual category and 20 in the non-manual category were found to be having high life chances in the mechanistic organization. In contrast, 12 and 14 respondents belonged to the manual and non-manual category in the organic organizations, who had a high life chance.

This makes us believe that Weber's notion of social classes is occupationally based and distinguishes between the working class of labour sellers, the lower middle class of small shopkeepers, the intelligentsia with little property and the privileged class who owe their superordinate position to property ownership or education or both. Weber in fact doubts the identical class situations but insists that all be derived from market situations. For Weber, a class existed when a number of individuals had a significant component of their life chances determined by their power within an economic order (1978 302-7,926-39). This clearly proves that classes are unambiguously economic in nature and are closely related to market situations. Weber relates class to market situation and says that anyone without access to market is restricted to status group, not a class. He asserts that the actual interests of the classes requires a distinction between two forms of social action: communal action such as undertaken by trade unions in defence of sacked colleagues and societal action designed to reconstruct the general distribution of life chances. This distinction becomes significant because Weber links the likelihood of social action to the transparency of the connections between the causes and the consequences of class situation. Not only does a group have to be collectively aware of its unjust situation, but also has to be in a position to resolve the perceived problem. For these reasons, Weber believed that groups like trade unions in factories where physical constraints of production facilitated union organization, leadership and control were best placed to demonstrate class oriented social action. In our case we found that manual workers exhibited the similar traits. As evident from Table 7.4 manual workers are characterized by collective orientation, lack of aspiration, lack in future planning and lack in possession. Markets are determined by impersonal forces. Status is determined by formal education, lifestyle and hereditary or occupational prestige. Status groups are not identical with class groups but Weber believed that greater homogeneity of status groups provided them with stronger claim to social action. This becomes evident from the characteristic class features as presented in tables 7.3 and 7.4 (See table 7.3 and 7.4).

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I

I am extremely thankful to the learned examiner for going through the entire thesis with its minute details and pointing out the deficiencies in order to improve the complexion of the dissertation. However with respect to some of the queries, I wish to add a few clarifications

1. For the purpose of collecting information from our respondents, who belonged to five industrial (manufacturing) units of Uttar Pradesh (Allahabad and Kanpur), semi structured schedules containing both open and close ended questions have been used as mentioned in my dissertation (see pp37). For example, question No 4 is a close ended question whereas question no 7 is an open ended question (see pp187). Therefore, the survey results and subsequent compilation of information are not based on unstructured interviews as understood by the eminent examiner. To reiterate the above point, I wish to clarify that not only interview schedule was used, but it was pre-designed and pre-tested before its adoption as a tool is mentioned in Chapter II, Research Design (pp37-38). Further, in the same chapter, we have mentioned that information has been supplemented with additional material procured with the help of guides and observation techniques (pp 38).
2. I wish to inform the learned examiner that the focal issue of my dissertation is mobility, not social stratification. I have tried to examine the empirical viability of the concept of Weber's Life-chances (Weber 1964,40). Life-chances as a concept has been developed by Max Weber to explain the process of mobility in the contemporary societies (Weber 1964,41). Weber views that the possession of economic resources is vital for the achievement of ends. Dahrendorf opined that "Max Weber liked the concept of 'chance' because he believed that all human societies are above all about opening spaces for chances of acquisition, chances of domination, future chances, supply chances, chances for domination for life chances (Dahrendorf 1979). The very first use of the concept of life chances occurred in Economy and Society in which Weber wrote

"The laws as one has come to call some doctrines of a sociology of understanding- Such as Gresham's law are observation confirmed typical

chances of a process of social action which is expected if certain conditions are given and which becomes understandable in terms of typical motives and typically intended meaning on the part of the actors (Max Weber pp9)

Chance according to Weber means probability on the grounds of causal relations, or structurally determined probability. Weber's own definition is even more structural "Economic chances shall be called chances promised by custom, interest, position or (conventionally or legally) guaranteed order with respect to an economy. (Dahrendorf: 1979; pp 65-67). Further, Weber clearly implies that economic chances are themselves scarce, so that one has to compete for them. That is why he has mentioned market chances, chances of acquisition etc.

The extent to which people are unequally placed with respect to economic resources, characterizes their class position. According to Weber, a class is not by its nature an actual group. It is only a category, or collection of individuals who occupy comparable economic positions who need have no awareness of each other, or recognition of the fact that they are in the same position, let alone of the need to unite in pursuit of shared interests arising from that position. Life chances, Weber argued, is the prospect of leading a certain kind of life, which in itself is a probabilistic notion. Given a person's current position, how likely certain things will happen to him in his lifetime. The distribution of life chances is no random process. It is one's relation to the market that becomes decisive in fixing class position, whether one buys or sells labour.

While examining this theoretical aspect of life-chances, we arrived on the process of class- structuration. Class- structuration Can be defined as the process of the formation of new groups. Structuration results due to the upward and downward mobility. Usually, social mobility takes place between the social levels which are close together. For example, between the upper levels of the working class and the lower levels of the working class (pp12)

3 With regard to the point raised by the learned examiner in the 4th paragraph, I humbly wish to state that the thesis is aimed at examining the process of breaking down of class boundaries due to the emerging trends of mobility in an industrial

set up The Indian industrial communities of the twentieth century have undergone considerable changes that are the concerns of many Indian theorists Special mention can be made of Srinivas (1952), Chibber (1968), Mishra (1983) Sheth (1968) Shyamlal (1992,1995) etc Social mobility too has increased as the structure of occupations has changed.

Caste system in India started with rigid hierarchical structure with only seven kinds of caste In the process of time, the rigidity started paving way for certain amount of flexibility Recent studies by Shyamlal (1992, 1995) are testimony to the fact that Indian caste system is experiencing mobility

As the focus of this study is to examine the process of class-structuration in the industrial set-up, no need is felt to give details of the caste system However, caste as a variable has been included in the measurement of socio-economic status categories as one of the four indicators along with income, education and occupation (pp 40) I would like to reiterate that my work is on class mobility and not on caste mobility. Caste is not the focal point of discussion in the dissertation.

4 The typical attributes of classes have been reconstructed using literature materials Notable among them are Dahrendorf (1959,1979), Bottomore (1966) Rinehart (1971) Mishra (1983) etc In the dissertation, characteristic attributes have been identified and presented in a tabular form (pp 12-14) A general characterization of these attributes for developing a model for comparison became relevant for better comprehension of the pattern and trends of class structuration

5 The thesis aimed at examining the life-chances of the industrial workers in the select towns of India In order to measure the extent of influence of life-chances on the process of class structuration, a measurement was developed to classify the respondents into various socio-economic categories The scale of SES consists of variables like income, education, occupation and caste (pp 40-41)

To bring objectivity in our results, we sought the help of 5 judges for occupational rating and caste rating These judges gave their ratings of different occupational categories and caste categories impartially Using the judges on occupation and caste, we assigned numerical scores to the responses of each respondent on four

separate scales. Taking total score into account, we classified the respondents into three categories of high, medium and low SES categories, which were decided after calculating the mean score and the quartiles of the total scores

6 I do admit that some details have been left out while the dissertation was in preparation. For example, a detailed historical account of the making of Indian classes is missing. Likewise, not much time has been devoted in explaining the trade and commerce development in India from ancient period till date. It was not possible to write all the details with proper investigation because of lack of resources and time constraints. However a brief historical overview is provided in the dissertation to familiarize the readers with development taking place from pre-British to post independence period. The point made by the learned examiner is well taken and it will be given due consideration at the time of publication of the thesis. I am thankful to the examiner for his critical approach because it would help in enhancing the complexion of the dissertation

7 I do agree that the related work done by Dipesh Chakravorty entitled "rethinking working Class History" has been overlooked because it is not available in Indian market or library. I shall try to procure a copy of the book and shall use it for literature survey

8 Two chapters have been devoted exclusively in the dissertation to bring out the characteristic features of mechanistic and organic organizations. I fully agree with the examiner that mechanistic and organic organizations are government controlled and private controlled respectively. This fact has been very explicitly stated in the chapter II while explaining the Research Design (pp 36)

9 My learned examiner has correctly pointed out the non inclusion of gender in the sample. There were two reasons for the same.

1. In the purdah system, females do not meet males openly. I being a male interviewer, the women workers did not come forward to give interviews if a male interviewer was present. They felt hesitant in talking to a male interviewer
2. Not many women workers are working in the sampled industries on permanent post. At present, in many industries of Kanpur and Allahabad, a

trend is to hire women through contractors Therefore there working hours are different from the regular workers

- 10 I do agree that in the dissertation, the various castes have been grouped together in three broad categories of high, medium and low castes. (Chapter 3 and 4) The rationale behind that has been mentioned in the section of measurements (pp40-41) It has been clearly stated that the caste ranking procedure was done with the help of five judges who were acquainted with the intricacies of the hierarchical structure of the caste in the area of study (pp 41) Utmost care was taken in the selection of the judges This was done with the intention of bringing objectivity in the classification Within the caste system, caste interaction is not the focal point of discussion Our main interest is to understand the process of class mobility in collectivity, within the frame reference of work situation
- 11 The two chapters in question about which it is said that cut and paste technique has been used, I would like to clarify here that the characteristic variable of mechanistic and organic organizations are the same Our endeavor is to classify the organizations into two different types by way of using the same variables and indicators This brings in an uniformity in structure while differentiation in contents.
- 12 I would like to draw the attention of the examiner on the statement that "Until recently the industrial work was dehumanized". It may be pointed out that the industrial working conditions have gradually improved in the post independence period. Various constitutional acts and labour laws such as the Factories Act, Industrial Disputes Act, Minimum Wages Act, Labour Courts etc have been made to safeguard the interests of the industrial workers Since the promulgation of these rules and regulations, the working conditions of the industrial workers have been improving considerably. Now the workers experience industrial democracy which permits them to participate in the decision making process also On the contrary, the situation at the time of independence was horrible
- 13 I honestly admit that there has been some spelling mistakes and grammatical errors throughout the dissertation I am extremely sorry for the typing errors etc

and a set of errata sheet is being enclosed herewith to assure the examiner that those deficiencies have been well taken care of

Finally, I express my gratitude to the learned examiner for his pains taking efforts and pointing out the deficiencies to improve the quality of the dissertation

Anurag Dwivedi

Typing Errors

Page No.	Line No.	Printed word	Should be read as
6	4	entcipreneur	entrepreneur
7	17	boost the	boost to the
9	20	classed	classes
12	12	is comes	comes
15	8	In turn	In turn,
17	1	conclusion that	conclusion is that
21	11	striving	strive
24	20	operation	operations
26	8	Differences of Assessment	Differential Assessment
58	8	India is	India are
68	26	crises	crisis
69	4	lots of	tremendous
69	12	is carried	are carried
71	10	crises	crisis
76	8	attach	attached
83	14	mechanistic organic	mechanistic organic,
86	24	hired factories	hired
95	10	th	the
96	11	As a result of it	As a result of it,
109	17	status	status,
109	21	peirceived	perceive
125	11	crises	crisis
125	12	crises	crisis
138	13	caste	castes

Missing References

Pp	Line	After	Reference
9	21	individual	Weber 1974, Pp424
22	15	classes	Weber.1974, Pp424
151	17	House	Weber.1974, Theory of Social and Economic Organization, Free Press, Glencoe
168	9	Publications	Mishra, B B. 1983, Indian Middle Classes India, Oxford University Press
170	14	House	Weber, Max 1974, Theory of Social and Economic Organization, Free Press, Glenco

comparative framework, the units of investigation were selected which are comparable. Two government controlled organizations and three in private ownership were selected assuming that government controlled organizations might have greater influence on following the organizational norms etc. They have been further categorized as 'mechanistic' and 'organic' organizations (for details see chapter III and IV). To bring in varieties, the units selected for the study are also divided on the basis of production. For example, one unit Ifco is engaged in the production of fertilisers and is a privately owned unit. The other unit Indian Telephone Industry (ITI) is engaged in the manufacturing of telephone equipments and components is in the public sector. Both units are in Allahabad. Ema India is engaged in the manufacturing of induction heating equipments and is situated in Kanpur. Ordnance factory of Kanpur is a public sector unit producing ammunitions for the army and Lohia Machines Limited is a privately owned organization engaged in the manufacturing of two wheeler automobiles. Using the indicators of Burns and Staller, they have been categorized into 'mechanistic' and 'organic' type of organizations. Detailed study of these organizations is done in chapter III and IV.

2.4 Tools and Techniques of Data Collection

In order to collect primary data from the respondents, a semi structured schedule is prepared. This schedule has a combination of close ended and open ended questions (see Appendix A). Information are collected with the help of interviews, observation, scanning of office records etc. Some additional information is collected through secondary sources such as census records, status reports of the firms etc. However, schedule is essentially the main source of data collection. Information collected through other sources is used to supplement the data for further discussion on various aspects of the problem. The schedule is designed in such a manner that respondents do not have any hesitation in answering those questions. First very general and common questions were asked which were followed by penetrating or opinion seeking questions. The critical type of questions are kept in the last section of the schedule. The interview schedule

(2) OCCUPATIONAL DETAILS

पूरी नोकरी का विवरण ;

नं.	कार्य का स्थान	पद का नाम	स्थान	अवधि	वर्तमान	आय	टिप्पणी
1							
2							
3							

वर्तमान नोकरी में सुविधाएँ

वर्ग	वर्ग	वर्ग	वर्ग	वर्ग	वर्ग
आय	अवधि	स्थान	पद	वर्ग	वर्ग
आय	अवधि	स्थान	पद	वर्ग	वर्ग
आय	अवधि	स्थान	पद	वर्ग	वर्ग
आय	अवधि	स्थान	पद	वर्ग	वर्ग
आय	अवधि	स्थान	पद	वर्ग	वर्ग

कृपया नतीजे मिलने की भी तारीख / नोकरी के लिए आवश्यक जानकारी आदि के बारे में जानकारी देना।
नतीजा तब तक नहीं मिलता है कि आप किस प्रकार की समस्याओं का सामना कर रहे हैं।
तब तक -

1. रक्षा
2. कार्य स्थल
3. कार्य विधि
4. सुविधाएँ
5. मृदु व्यवहार
6. पैसा
7. प्रोत्साहन के अवसर
8. कार्य स्थल सुविधा
9. कार्य वातावरण
10. अन्य

क्या वर्तमान नोकरी आपके विकास के लिए है ? हाँ/नहीं

वर्तमान नोकरी में आने से पूर्व क्या आपने सोचा था कि आप किस प्रकार की नोकरी में काम करेंगे ? हाँ/नहीं/क्या नहीं सोचा

आपकी शैक्षणिक योग्यताओं और अनुभव को ध्यान में रखते हुए क्या आप अपनी वर्तमान नोकरी में भागीदारी करना चाहते हैं ? हाँ/नहीं

आपका स्वागत है।

is prepared in Hindi because it has to be administered on a population characterized by varying levels of awareness such as illiterate, semi-literate and literate. Interview schedule is divided into five major sections: personal data, family-data, occupation data, recreational data and mobility pattern data. Each section had 10-12 close-ended questions along with 3-4 open-ended questions. These questions focused on one particular aspect and tried to elicit information through a cross-checking method.

Before finalizing the schedule, a pilot study is conducted and the schedule is pretested on 40 persons. Care is taken not to include these persons in the total sample of the study. It is administered on a purposively selected cross-section of the population. Based on their responses, certain modifications were done in the final form of schedule. After this process, the schedule is administered on the respondents for collecting the primary information.

Respondents were approached through the personnel department of the organization. Before administering the schedule, rapport is established and a friendly, informal and cordial atmosphere is created. Each interview used to take half an hour time and the respondents were taken into confidence by assuring them of strict confidentiality of their conversation and purely academic utilization of the information. The independent interviews and subsequent observation were helpful in providing insights to comprehend respondents' concern. The analyses of the compiled information are presented in the forthcoming chapters.

2.5 Duration of Data Collection

The entire period of data collection is from August 1995 to December 1996. The data collection period is spread out in two phases. The first phase started in August 1995 and lasted till March 1996. In this phase the primary data are collected from various workers of different manufacturing units of Kanpur and Allahabad. The second phase of data collection started from March 1996 and lasted till December 1996. During this phase, documents and office records were scanned to collect background information.

1.3 Class Structuration

With the proliferation of industrial processes and industrial organizations, Indian society which was for centuries known for its rigid caste structure, underwent a peculiar transition due to the industrial processes. The outcome has been the emergence of a social system which brought two kinds of stratification system, i.e. caste and class, together into one system. This unique combination of caste and class gave birth to new kinds of relationships which were not in accordance with the established trends. As a result, the emergence of a social structure encompassing dual characteristics became evident. At one hand, people experience upward mobility because of the prevalence of achievement criteria i.e. class as a new stratification order. On the other hand, caste system restricts the mobility because of its nature of rigidity and hereditary characteristics. Consequently, a peculiar and unique structural arrangement came to fore especially in the urban-industrial social groups of India (Chibber 1968).

The issue of class structuration or emergence of new order of social classes has attracted the attention of large number of scholars in India and abroad (Bottomore 1970, Glass 1967, Goldthorpe 1968, Vaid 1968, Sharma 1974, Sharan 1978). The studies have reported mobility as an instrumental factor in developing new kind of class composition in the urban-industrial scenario. These scholars viewed mobility as the result of income and occupation. They opined that mobility is linked with the individual's own motivation and initiation and hence it is observed into some groups only. They further viewed social mobility taking place between the social levels which are close together, for example, between upper levels of the working class and the lower level of the middle class. Movement from the working class into the upper class is very restricted and limited in all contemporary societies. In literature, one can find two school of thoughts with relation to the aspect of social mobility.

1. Movement of individuals into the higher rung of classes because of one's own achievement and motivation that is due to the individuals own initiation and desire. This school overemphasizes on the situation of personality factor.

2.8 Measurements

In the present study, four scales are evolved to measure certain qualitative aspects. These scales are Socio-Economic Status, Aspiration, Commitment and Life choice scale. Steps involved in formulating these scales have been elucidated in the following paragraphs.

2.8.1 Measurement of Socio-Economic Status Scale

Assuming that considerable differences will be found among the respondents particularly in their age, income, education, family background and thus in their socio-economic status, it became essential to develop a proper scale which could enable the researcher to show the extent of differences. For this purpose, a socio-economic status scale (SES) which was developed by Sharan (1978) has been used. Sharan's SES scale was a modified version of Kuppuswamy's SES scale (Kuppuswamy, 1969). His scale was based on only three indicators, they were education, occupation and income, while Sharan's scale was based on four indicators, education, income, occupation and caste. Kuppuswamy's scale had been modified by Sharan because in Indian society individuals' status cannot be ascertained unless caste indicator is used. The methodological rationale as suggested by Sharan looks to be more apt for the present analysis. Thus, the SES scale developed for the present study comprised of four indices income, education, occupation and caste. For the index of income a 5 point scale was developed (see Appendix B). The income earned by the individual respondent were then divided into three categories, high, medium and low. The cutting points were decided upon by calculating the mean score. Thus, the cutting points were 1000/- or less per month for the low income and Rs. 4000/= or more for the high income. In this way, income categories 1 and 2 had come into low income group, 3 as the medium income group and 4 and 5 into the high income group (see Appendix B). Similarly, educational achievements of the respondents were measured by years of formal education put in by a respondent in an educational institution and the scale was divided into three cate-

gories 'high', 'medium' and 'low'. The cutting points here too were decided upon by calculating the mean score. Thus the cutting points were upto 8 years of formal school or less - low educational achievement and graduation and above high. In this way three educational categories were made- 1 and 2 in the low level educational category, 3 and 4 into medium level educational category and 5 and 6 were placed in the high level educational category (see Appendix B).

In India no rank order of occupation is made out. Thus, for rating occupational status we had to seek the help of some judges. We found that Kuppur's rank order of occupations was rather subjective and arbitrary. To avoid possible bias we selected five judges to give their ratings of different occupational categories impartially and objectively to which the respondents belonged. The cutting points of the occupational categories are elucidated in Appendix (Appendix B). Similarly, we sought the help of other set of five judges for ranking the status of the castes. The caste ranking procedure is detailed out in the Appendix (see Appendix B). Ultimate care was taken in the selection of the judges. Only those persons were selected as judges who were acquainted with the intricacies of the hierarchical structure of the caste in the area of study. Thus, using the judges on occupation and caste combined with three income scales for ranking income and education we assigned numerical scores to the respondents on the four separate scales. Taking total score into account we classified the respondents into three - high, 'medium' and 'low' SES categories which were decided after calculating the mean score and the quartiles of the total scores. The sample cases which fell in the first quartile were placed in the low SES category, those in the second quartile were placed in the medium category. In the fourth quartile there were only a few cases, hence we combined the third and fourth quartiles to form a single category of high SES (see Appendix B).

2.8.2 Measurement of Aspiration

Since the study aims at focussing on the trends of class- structuration, an attempt has been made to quantify and to measure a few qualitative attributes. Aspiration

Raymonds Textiles etc. Thus in the last three decades Allahabad had various diversified nature of factories being set up by Government and private corporation.

Added to these, Allahabad has the High Court of the state, some important Central Government Offices like District Railway Manager's Office, Central Defence Accounts Office, Accountant General's Office and important state government offices like Directorate of Education, Madhyamdi Suktcha Parichad etc. The Allahabad University, Regional Engineering College, Medical College, Defence Department and Ordnance Factory have all employed a diversified kind of population. A large chunk of population belongs to the salaried class, self-employed professionals, academicians, engineers, politicians etc. In recent times the category of working class has also emerged because of the establishment of various public and private manufacturing units.

2.3 Sample-Selection

Sample size is a very important aspect of any investigation. Since both the districts are pretty large, extensive and scattered, it was decided to restrict the sample size to a manageable limit which was confined to three hundred respondents. Enough care was taken to include representative units of the population in the sample of the study.

The Research Design

Table 2.1 Type of Industrial Workers

A	B	Organisation	Manual Workers	Non Manual Workers	Total
		Private	75	75	150
		Public	75	75	150
		Total	150	150	300

At this stage it will be in the fitness of things to describe the technical procedures by which this study is to be conducted. Since the research design has a com-